THE
PEDAGOGICAL SEMINARY
Founded and Edited by G. STANLEY HALL

VOL. XVIII SEPTEMBER, 1911 No. 3

HEALTH INSPECTION OF SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

By GEORGE H. SHAFER, Fellow in Clark University

HISTORICAL AND LEGAL SURVEY

Health inspection of schools in the United States was initiated in Boston (15) by the board of health in 1894, when the city was divided into fifty districts and an inspector assigned to each district. The aim was to detect and eliminate cases of contagious diseases in their incipient stages. The state law of 1906 added the further duty of separately and carefully testing and examining every child in the public schools "at least once in every school year to ascertain whether he is suffering from defective sight or hearing or from any other disability or defect tending to prevent his receiving the full benefit of his school work." In 1907 the school committee of Boston established a department of school hygiene, the object of which was to put under the direction of an expert in school hygiene all those functions of the school which had to do with the physical (19) welfare of school children, and to co-operate with teachers in applying health principles to educational processes. Its activities extend beyond the schoolhouse and beyond school hours to the playgrounds and to summer vacations. It also attempts home extension work on quite an extensive scale. Thus Boston at once furnishes us a concrete example of the two main ideas in health inspection: the protection of the community from infectious diseases through the schools, and expert supervision of health and development processes.

[1]In this study an attempt is made to give the more essential facts and to discuss some of the most important problems involved in health inspection of schools in the United States. I wish to express my indebtedness to President G. Stanley Hall under whose direction the study was undertaken; to Dr. William H. Burnham and to Dr. Theodate L. Smith for valuable suggestions and encouragement; also to Dr. S. Josephine Baker, the very efficient and farsighted Director of Child Hygiene of New York City, who put at my disposal every opportunity for a first hand study of the New York system.

New York City (15) followed Boston in establishing a system of health inspection for the detection and elimination of contagious diseases in 1897, and in the establishment of a department of child hygiene in 1908. Chicago began the work of inspection for contagious disesases in 1895 and Philadelphia in 1898. At present there are over four hundred towns and cities in the United States having some sort of health inspection.

In 1899 the legislature of Connecticut (15) passed a law requiring superintendents, principals or teachers to test the eyesight of all pupils in the school during the fall term and to notify in writing, the parent or guardian of every pupil found defective. The tests were to be made triannually, and the state board of education was to furnish the materials necessary and to give instruction for their use. In 1907 a second law passed the legislature. This law authorized the "board of education or town schoool committee of any town, or the board of education or committee of any school district, to appoint one or more school physicians." The law also provides for the appointment of school nurses. The school physician is "to examine all pupils referred to him by principals and teachers, to make such further examination of teachers, janitors and school buildings as in his opinion the health of the pupils may require."

"The school authorities of any town or school district which has appointed a school physician in accordance with the provisions of this act, shall cause every child attending the public schools therein to be separately and carefully tested and examined at least once in every school year, to ascertain whether such child is suffering from defective sight or hearing, or from any other physical disability tending to prevent such child from receiving the full benefit of school work, or requiring a modification of such school work in order to prevent injury to the child or to secure the best educational results." Notices of defects or disease must be sent to parents with "such advice or order relating thereto as the physician may deem advisable."

In 1904 Vermont enacted a law requiring that the superintendent, principal, or teacher of a public school shall test the sight and hearing of every pupil in the school annually in the month of September. Parents must be notified.

Massachusetts was the first state to enact a mandatory health inspection law. The law was enacted in 1906. It makes the school committee responsible for the appointment of inspectors in all towns, and in all cities where the board of health fails to do so. Every child in the public schools must be "separately and carefully tested and examined," at least once each school year, for defects and disabilities which might interfere with school progress. Tests of sight and hearing are

made by the teachers. Parents must be notified in all cases of disease and defects, and "a physical record of each child must be kept in such form as the state board of education shall prescribe." This law, while mandatory in form, made health inspection dependent upon an appropriation in cities by the city council, and in towns by the town meeting. In 1908 this clause was repealed, making the law really mandatory. In 1910 the law was amended so as to include examination for health certificates.

The legislature of New Jersey (15) passed a law in 1903 making health inspection permissive. In 1909 a second law was passed as follows:

"Every board of education shall employ a competent physician to be known as the medical inspector, and fix his salary and term of office. Every board of education shall adopt rules for the government of the medical inspector, which rules shall be submitted to the State Board of Education for approval.

"The medical inspector shall examine every pupil to learn whether any physical defect exists, and keep a record from year to year of the growth and development of such pupil, which record shall be the property of the board of education, and shall be delivered by said medical inspector to his successor in office. Said inspector shall lecture before the teachers at such times as may be designated by the board of education, instructing them concerning the methods employed to detect the first signs of communicable disease, and the recognized measures for the promotion of health and the prevention of disease. The board of education may appoint more than one medical inspector. A board of education may exclude from school any child whose presence in the schoolroom shall be certified by the medical inspector as detrimental to the health or cleanliness of the pupils in the school, and shall notify the parent, gaurdian or other person having control of such child of the reasons therefor. If the cause for exclusion is such that it can be remedied, and the parent, guardian or other person having control of the child excluded as aforesaid shall fail or neglect within a reasonable time to have the cause for such exclusion removed, such parent, guardian or other person shall be proceeded against and upon conviction, be punishable as a disorderly person."

Maine enacted a statute in 1909 resembling the Massachusetts act of 1906, with the exceptions that it is permissive, applies only to cities and towns having a population of less than forty thousand inhabitants, and that sight and hearing tests may be made either by the teachers or physicians.

In 1909 the legislature of Colorado passed a law requiring "every teacher in the public schools" to "report the mental,

moral and physical defectiveness of any child under his supervision, as soon as such defectiveness is apparent to the principal, or where there is no principal, to the county superintendent." The principal or superintendent notifies the parent or guardian of such defectiveness and advises an examination "by a competent physician or surgeon, with special reference to eyes, ears, nose, throat, teeth and spine." If the parent or guardian neglects to follow this advice, it is the duty of the principal to notify the state bureau of child and animal protection which then takes up the matter.

The legislature of California enacted a law in 1909 authorizing boards of education to establish health and development supervision in the public schools, to employ an examining staff and other necessary employees, and to fix their salaries. It advises that, where practicable, the examining staff should consist of both educators and physicians. Health and development supervision is defined as follows:

"1. To secure the correction of developmental and acquired defects of both pupils and teachers which interfere with health, growth and efficiency, by complete physical examination. Such examinations shall occur annually, or as often as may be determined by the board of school trustees or city board of education."

"2. To adjust school activities to health and growth needs and to development processes and to attend to all matters pertaining to school hygiene."

"3. To bring about a special study of mental retardation and deviation of pupils in the public schools."

With regard to the certification of members of the examining staff, the law provides that:

"County or city and county boards of education are hereby authorized to grant health and development certificates to holders of life diplomas of California of the high school or grammar grades, or to holders of California certificates to practice medicine and surgery who shall present with such life diplomas or with such certificates to practice medicine and surgery a recommendation from the state board of education certifying special fitness for the work specified in the act."

The law of Utah provides that "the local boards of health shall have jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to the preservation of health of those in attendance upon the public and private schools in the state," and makes it the duty of each local board of health to exclude from school any person suffering from an infectious or contagious disease, and to inspect all school buildings and premises as to their hygienic conditions.

In 1910 boards of education in New York State were authorized "To provide for the medical inspection of all children in attendance upon schools under their supervision whenever in

their judgment such inspection shall be necessary, and to pay any expense incurred therefor out of funds authorized by the voters of the district or city, or which may properly be set aside for such purpose by the common council or the board of estimate and apportionment of the city."

The school law of Ohio provides for health inspection as follows:

"Any board of education in a city school district may provide for the medical inspection of pupils attending the public schools. For that purpose it can employ competent physicians, nurses, and provide for and pay all expenses incident thereto from the public school funds, or by agreement with the board of health or other board, or officer performing the functions of a board of health for such city. It may provide for medical and sanitary supervision and inspection of the schools which are under the control of such board of education and of the pupils attending such schools, by a competent physician selected by the parent or guardian of the child, but on failure of the parent or guardian, then by the district physicians and other employees to be appointed by such board of health."

In the state of Washington the law provides for health inspection in school districts of the first class of which there are nine.

The recent legislature of North Dakota has passed a law making health inspection by the local board of education permissive in all the schools of the state. It enjoins upon county superintendents of schools the duty of co-operating with school boards in promoting health inspection, and suggests an arrangement of schools in groups for the purpose of inspection, especially in rural districts.

Bills relative to health inspection of schools are at present pending in the legislatures of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and West Virginia.

From the foregoing survey we see that legislation with regard to health inspection of schools in the United States, has made considerable progress within the last five years. There are, however, only two states, if we exclude Colorado (where no physicians or experts are employed), which have enacted mandatory legislation.

A careful study of the facts revealed by the examination of pupils in the public schools, can scarcely fail to bring the conviction that health inspection and supervision of schools and pupils is of the utmost importance, and that there certainly should be legislation in every state and territory making it as easy as possible for any community to take up the work whenever it chooses to do so. But mandatory legisla-

tion, while it should be a conscious goal, ought not to be brought about prematurely; for premature legislation is bound to result in reaction injurious to the cause. A law which does not first exist as a conviction in the hearts of a majority of thinking citizens is not worth putting on paper. Our statute books are full of laws, good laws perhaps, but dead because they did not have the initial momentum to launch them securely. When intelligent interest has been aroused then it will be well to seek mandatory legislation.

We are not referring here to the opposition to legislation coming from special interests, but to the apathy and the honest conviction of intelligent citizens. It is the appeal of the easy, short cut, and spectacular that makes us go to the legislature with every new civic duty of which we become conscious. We throw our responsibilities upon the legislature as the ancient Hebrews used to transfer their sins to the scapegoat. It is not mandatory legislation with respect to health inspection that we need at present, but real scientific investigation and demonstration, and the dissemination of facts, not overdrawn statements of overzealous reformers, but real facts.

Some maintain that state intervention with regard to the health conditions of the child, and especially with regard to his hygienic environment in the home, tends to destroy the sanctity and the responsibility of the home, and is contrary to the principles of our government. On the contrary, it is quite in accord with the precedent established with the founding of our public school system. As well might we argue that education at public expense, and especially compulsory education, tends to destroy the sanctity and responsibility of the home; and yet, the institution of the public school, with compulsory education, is to-day regarded as absolutely essential to the very maintenance of our government.

Control

In several states, as we have seen, laws have been passed regulating the control of health inspection in the schools, but for the most part it is a matter for local adjustment. There are at present three methods of control in vogue. First, by the board of health; second, by the board of education; and third, by a division of the work between the board of health and the board of education.

In Massachusetts the law gives control to the board of health in cities and to the school committee in towns. In New Jersey the board of education has complete control. In California all matters pertaining to infectious and contagious diseases are left to the board of health, while the health and development work is controlled by the board of education.

Where there is no state legislation the same classification will hold.

In general it may be said, that in the older and larger cities of the east and middle west the board of health controls, whereas in the smaller cities of the east and the newer cities of the south and west the board of education controls. The reason for this is obvious. Health inspection of schools began in these larger and older cities where boards of health were better organized, and where, on account of congested conditions and a heterogeneous population, the matter of protection from infectious and contagious diseases became imperative. Although in its beginning it was purely a protective measure, when there came an awakening to the larger health problems in the schools it was but natural for the teacher to turn to the only existing agency for help and advice; so there grew up under the control of the board of health a more or less complete system of heath inspection. The smaller cities of the east and the newer cities of the south and west came later to a realization of health needs. Boards of health were not forced by the exigencies of the situation to take the initiative. The appeal came first from the educational point of view and boards of education took the initiative.

There is still a considerable difference of opinion with regard to the best agency of control, and in some quarters the contest between the board of health and the board of education is rather sharp.

It is argued on the one hand that all matters pertaining to the health of the community are a direct concern of the board of health. It alone has legal authority to quarantine and to control health conditions; to leave any part of this work to any other agency would weaken authority and cause confusion. The reply to this argument is, that the matter of infectious and contagious disease is only a small fraction of the whole problem, and that the larger phase of health and development is distinctively an educational problem and as such can be dealt with efficiently only from the educational point of view. The immediate and vital problem from the educational point of view is the adjustment of school activities to the physiological and mental needs of the individual pupil. This can never be accomplished by a division of authority at the most vital point. Either the physician must turn educator and assume the responsibilities of superintendent of schools, or he must be *en rapport* with the educator and work to the end that the latter may take his results and apply them to educational problems. The field is too large for one man. There must be a division of labor; but, what is still more important, there must be unity of purpose.

It is argued again that the board of health is an agency already in the field; to create a department of health inspection under the board of education would mean a duplication of agencies and an unnecessary expenditure of money. To this it may be answered that the board of education is also an existing agency with a system of supervision which could take care of health work in the schools with no less economy and efficiency than the board of health.

Again it is urged that educators cannot see the medical point of view, that they are not alive to the real problems at issue, and that control by the board of education would mean unprofessional and narrow control, hampering the physician in his work, turning it into narrow channels and so largely defeating its own end. On the other hand it is urged that the officials of the board of health do not have the proper perspective, that they have a live interest only in the detection and elimination of contagious diseases and that they are apathetic toward the larger educational aspects of the problem.

We find the same criticism in England where, in some cities, the medical officer of health also performs the duties of school medical officer. "In spite of the general excellence of the routine work in the larger cities where the medical officer of health has been appointed school medical officer, the reports with a few notable exceptions show a singular absence of originality and initiative, and of any special interest in educational progress. On the other hand, exclusive attention is given to certain aspects of the work, especially those concerning infectious diseases, sanitation and statistics."[1] It is stated in the same report that these inspectors do not keep in touch with the teachers.

To sum up, it seems to be the general opinion that all matters pertaining to infectious and contagious diseases should remain under the control of the board of health, but with respect to the more complete health supervision of school children there is a difference of opinion. Since the value of health inspection from the educational point of view depends upon the application by teachers and educators of the results of individual examinations to the individual pupil, it is absolutely essential that there should be no serious break between examination and application. The examiner must be able to make his examinations with the educational problems clearly in mind, and the educator must be in a receptive attitude with regard to the results of the examiner. Whether or not this can be accomplished where boards of health control health inspection in schools still remains to be proved. The

[1]School Hygiene, London, Dec. 1910.

present tendency seems to be in the direction of a division of the work, leaving to boards of health the control of all matters pertaining to infectious and contagious diseases, and assigning to boards of education those health problems which more vitally concern the educator.

Organization

Under this heading a number of representative systems of health inspection in the United States are described.

In a number of smaller places the work is entirely done by nurses employed by the board of education and under the general supervision of the superintendent of schools: Champaign, Illinois,—2,081 pupils, and Des Moines, Iowa,—16,672, pupils,[1] furnish examples of this method.

The board of education of Trenton, New Jersey,—13,241 pupils, employs eight inspectors at an annual salary of $200 each, and two nurses at an annual salary of $600 and $700 respectively. The work is done under certain rules established by the state board of education and augmented by the local board, but there is no separate organization.

In Detroit, Michigan,—57,996 pupils—the board of health appoints twenty-seven inspectors at a salary of $30 each, per month, and six nurses at a salary of $75 each, per month, working under the general direction of the board of health.

The board of education of Dayton, Ohio—15,448 pupils—employs one full time medical inspector at an annual salary of $2,000. He works entirely from the educational point of view and has nothing whatever to do with contagious diseases. There are no nurses, but teachers are expected to do "follow up" work.

St. Paul, Minnesota,—28,518 pupils—employs one inspector at high school teachers' schedule of salary, who devotes three hours each school day to the work, and holds office hours on Saturday morning from 9 to 12 o'clock. Three nurses are employed on grade teachers' salary. The inspector examines pupils reported to him by the teachers, and also makes general physical examinations in certain schools. The work is controlled by the board of education.

The board of education of Lincoln, Nebraska, appoints two chief medical inspectors who, with the superintendent of schools, constitute a board of medical inspection. This board recommends as many inspectors as may be deemed necessary to carry out the provisions of these rules, and upon the approval of the board of education, the inspectors so selected,

[1] Statistics taken from report of U. S. Commissioners of Ed., *1910*.

shall be appointed and assigned to school buildings to serve for one year. The work is entirely gratis.

The City of Chicago, Illinois,—301,172 pupils—is divided by the board of health for the purpose of health inspection into one hundred districts. Each district is in charge of an inspector at a salary of $66.66 per month. There are five supervising inspectors at a salary of $100 each per month. There are also three supervising nurses at $100 each per month and sixty nurses at $70 each, per month.

The nurses give their entire time to the work, being employed during vacation in child welfare work. The inspectors devote four or more hours per day to the service. Here medical inspection is not differentiated from supervision of communicable diseases. Each inspector is responsible for all communicable diseases occurring in his district, whether found in school or reported through other channels. "Each morning and evening the location of contagious diseases reported to the department of physicians will be telephoned to the medical inspector in the district from which the case was reported. He will then promptly visit all cases reported in his district and establish quarantine." A general physical examination of each pupil in the grades of the public schools is made once a year.

New York City,—744,148 pupils—has established a division of child hygiene as an integral part of the department of health. This division is entirely separate from the division of communicable diseases, and co-operates with that division in the same way as the department of health inspection under the board of education in other cities co-operates with the department of health.

The staff of the division includes, at present, one hundred and sixty-one medical inspectors; one hundred and forty-two nurses, and they are organized as follows: (5)

A chief of the division who has the administrative control of the work throughout the city, receiving a salary of $3,000. There are five borough chiefs at an annual salary of from $1,500 to $2,000 each. The borough chief is in charge of the work in a borough, and is directly responsible to the chief of the division.

There are eleven supervising inspectors at an annual salary of $1,500 each, they are under the direction of the borough chief and in charge of a squad of from ten to fifteen inspectors, each inspector receiving an annual salary of $1,200.

The superintendent of nurses receives an annual salary of $1,200. She is in charge of the work of the nurses throughout the city, and is directly responsible to the chief of the division. There are seven supervising nurses and a corps of active nurses.

The activities of the division of child hygiene include more than the medical inspection of school children. The plan includes "a comprehensive supervision of the health of the child from birth to puberty in so far as a municipal health department" can "control the conditions of child life." (5)

The board of education employs a director of special classes, and a specialist in nervous diseases. The division of hygiene also co-operates with the department of physical culture and with the attendance department.

The board of education of St. Louis, Missouri,—87,931 pupils—has established a department of school hygiene as a division of the department of instruction. There is a supervisor of hygiene at an annual salary of $2,600. There are six inspectors at a graded salary of $1,200 each for the first year, $1,300 for the second year, $1,400 for the third year and $1,500 for the fourth year. There are also five nurses. The rules of the board of education relating to suspension and removal of teachers applies to the supervisor, inspector and nurses in the department, and the department is at all times subject to such rules as the superintendent of instruction, with the approval of the board of education, may make. The department maintains a bacteriological laboratory; examines all pupils in certain districts once a year for physical defects; examines daily all evidences of the presence in the schools of communicable diseases, and reports to the board of health. It examines the sanitary condition of the school premises, it looks after the special schools, articulates with the attendance department and with the physical training department, and co-operates with the city health department in case of contagious disease.

Los Angeles (25), California,—49,268 pupils—represents rather a unique organization. The department of health and development created by the board of education is under the supervision of a director who has the authority to make direct applications to school work. "The examining staff of this division contains both educators and school physicians, and its work involves the close co-operation of this staff with the teaching force of the city." A medical anthropometrical laboratory with a very elaborate outfit of apparatus for medical examinations and psychological tests is maintained. The field of work involves defective sense organs, nervous system and general health, normal and defective growth, the adjustment of school activities to the health and growth needs of pupils, the special study of mental retardation and deviation among school pupils.

The city health department employs a corps of inspectors who are in charge of all the work for the prevention and elimi-

nation of contagious diseases. This department also employs a corps of nurses who give their time primarily to the work of the department of health and development, and report to both departments.

In looking over these systems we find a considerable variety with regard to organization. While it is not possible to make any very definite classifications here, we may roughly classify the various systems at present in vogue in the United States as follows:

1st. Systems where school medical inspectors have been appointed either by the board of health or by the board of education and assigned to certain districts, but where each inspector is practically autonomous, being supervised by the appointing agency only in a very general way.

2nd. Systems where school medical inspectors have been appointed and are directly supervised either by the city health officer or by the superintendent of instruction.

3rd. Systems which have been organized as distinct departments and are directed by a specialist in child hygiene or school hygiene.

Health inspection in the schools has suffered greatly because of a lack of expert supervision. It is of sufficient importance and intricacy to require the whole time service and the entire interest and energy of a well trained man or woman in at least every city and every county. The present tendencies in organization seem to be in the direction of gathering up all the factors in school which have to do with the physical welfare of the child under one department and placing at the head of this department an expert in school hygiene.

Inspection for Contagious Diseases

The method of procedure in dealing with contagious diseases varies considerably. The simplest method is to have the teacher telephone to the inspector, or notify him by some other method, whenever she finds a suspicious case. The inspector then visits the school and disposes of the case. Another method is to have the inspector get into communication with the principal of each school in his district some time before 10 o'clock A. M. each school day, to find out whether or not his services are required. Where this method is followed the inspector usually is required to visit the class rooms occasionally for the purpose of making a general inspection.

As most of the large cities maintaining a system of inspection for contagious diseases follow a modification of the New York plan, it may be worth while to describe the New York

method briefly here. For a more detailed account see Appendix.

The work naturally falls under two headings:

1st. Morning Inspection; 2nd. Routine Inspection

Morning Inspection. New York City is divided into districts, each including two or three schools with an attendance of about five thousand pupils. Each district is assigned to one inspector and one nurse. Each inspector visits each one of his schools every morning before 10 o'clock and examines in a room set apart for that purpose: 1st. All cases of suspected contagious diseases referred by the teacher. 2nd. Children who have been absent from school for several days. 3rd. All children returning after previous exclusion. 4th. All children referred for diagnosis by the nurse.

For convenience, contagious diseases are divided into two classes: Major contagious diseases including small pox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, chicken pox, whooping cough, mumps, and pulmonary tuberculosis in the active stage and: Minor contagious diseases including acute conjunctivitis, trachoma, skin diseases, pediculosis, etc. Cases of major contagious diseases are at once excluded; the inspector immediately telephones the name and address to the borough office of the division of contagious diseases. The division of contagious diseases sends a diagnostician, except in case of diphtheria or pulmonary tuberculosis, in order to confirm the diagnosis. If the diagnosis is confirmed, the case remains under the control of the division, if not confirmed the division issues a certificate allowing the child to return to school at once. In case of diphtheria a culture is taken and the child is excluded. Cases of tuberculosis are excluded and referred for treatment to their family physician or to the department of health clinic. Children affected with contagious eye and skin diseases whose parents have persistently refused to obtain treatment are excluded, and cases of pediculosis with live pediculi may be excluded. Minor contagious diseases under treatment are, as a rule, retained in school excepting very severe cases of scabies and trachoma.[1]

Routine Inspection. A few weeks after school opens each term, giving a little time for adjustment of school activities and for all pupils to become enrolled, a general routine inspection of all children is made by the health inspector. The inspector takes his position in some convenient well lighted corner of

[1]In Chicago the school health inspector is at the same time district inspector for contagious diseases, consequently he follows all major cases to their homes and takes all the responsibility of quarantine and disinfection.

the class room. All pupils form in line and file past him for inspection. In passing the pupil shows the palms of his hands and his wrists; pulls down the eyelids exposing the conjunctiva; opens the mouth, and the girls lift the back hair. A separate wooden tongue depressor is used in each case. This routine is repeated by the nurse at least once a month throughout the year.

Contagious diseases are designated according to a code. When the physician diagnoses a case he calls out the code number. The teacher records the name of the child with the code number. Children found with symptoms of a major contagious disease are excluded as indicated above. Cases of acute conjunctivitis and of skin diseases are referred to the family physician or to dispensaries, or to the school nurses for treatment. Trachoma is referred to the family physician or to one of the clinics of the board of health. Physicians also visit at their homes pupils who have been absent from school for three or more days.

Examinations for Physical Defects

All the earlier systems of health inspection were established for the sole purpose of controlling contagious diseases. In the majority of cases there was added to this later the examination of all pupils for physical defects. In many of the newer systems, however, especially those established by boards of education, the chief purpose from the beginning has been to discover and remedy such defects as might interfere with growth and development and to adjust school activities to development processes.

It is the consensus of opinion that a complete physical examination of every pupil should be made at certain intervals, and in nearly every case a yearly examination is recommended with special examinations of individual pupils whenever necessary. Some of the smaller cities are actually accomplishing an annual examination of each pupil, but in the larger cities, on account of the small force of inspectors or because inspectors give only a small part of their time to the work, it has not been possible to accomplish this ideal. In New York City about one third of the pupils in the elementary schools are examined each year. In some places congested districts are selected and routine physical examinations are made in these districts, while in other districts only those are examined who are referred by the teachers. In other places no routine physical examination, is undertaken, but pupils are referred to the inspector for such examination, whenever the teacher has any suspicion that defects exist. The scope of

this examination varies somewhat, but the schedule prescribed by state board of education of New Jersey may be cited as fairly representative. It includes "a thorough examination of:

"A. Eyes, for farsightedness and nearsightedness; color blindness; squint, and roughly for astigmatism if suspected; also the condition of the eyelids.

"B. Ear. Acuteness of hearing. Presence or absence of discharge.

"C. Throat. Condition of tonsils. Probable adenoids. Nasal deformities or discharges.

"D. Teeth. Condition and care.

"E. Deformities. Spine, limbs, etc.

"F. Skin. Presence or absence of eruptions. Condition of scalp.

"G. Where practicable, measurements: height, weight and chest measures. Examination of heart and lungs."

To sum up, health inspection for infectious and contagious diseases has been worked out quite thoroughly in some of the older systems. It includes morning inspection of all suspected pupils and regular routine inspection of all pupils at stated times throughout the school year. The larger problem of general health inspection and supervision has thus far been dealt with to a very limited extent, although a good beginning has been made in a number of places, and we may expect better things in the near future.

The Health Inspector

As a result of a questionnaire sent to one hundred of the pioneer cities in health inspection, we find that so far very little attention has been paid to the special qualifications of health inspector. Buffalo and Chicago require a civil service examination. St. Louis requires a special examination. "No one shall be nominated for, or appointed to, the position of inspector of hygiene, who has not passed sucessfully an examination offered by the board of education to all candidates for such positions. This examination shall be given both as a test of professional training and experience as a physician, and of personal qualifications for this special work."

California is the only state which has taken any steps towards the development of specialists in health inspection and school hygiene. The California law, as we have seen, authorizes boards of education to grant health and development certificates to educators and to physicians who show certain qualifications. This gives the position of health inspector the dignity of a profession, and makes it possible for both physicians and educators to enter the field. The spirit of the

law is brought out more clearly in a statement made by its author:

"It would be far more economical of human effort for educators skilled in their work to occupy this field jointly with physicians, the latter taking charge of special classes where a more extensive knowledge of disease is called for, and the educators conducting all the other examinations of growth and development necessary for the intelligent treatment of children and youths. Educators who do this work must be thoroughly trained in physical and mental diagnosis, in physiology and applied hygiene, and in clinical psychology" (25).

Answers from several other localities would indicate at least an idea of some adaptation to the work: "Inspectors must be interested in the work." "Health inspectors must be trained physicians of recognized standing in the community." "High character and efficient service." These are some of the answers, but the typical answer "qualified physician" covers the great bulk of the returns.

The fact that so little thought has been given to the training of the health inspector is evidence that health inspection in the United States is still in its infancy, and that there are all sorts of possibilities for development. We have not as yet attacked the problem in all seriousness. In England the problem is attacked with greater seriousness; adequate salaries are paid; medical men have taken up the work as a profession, and are giving all their energies towards working out an adequate and efficient system, and men are being developed who are expert in school hygiene and who are ready to give efficient and wholesouled service.

Dr. Hogarth sums up the qualifications and duties of the health inspector as conceived by English hygienists as follows:

"He must be observant and receptive not only in regard to the children themselves, but also to their surroundings and conditions of work. His knowledge must be both sound and extensive; he may be almost a specialist in all subjects, without being a faddist in any. He must be broad minded and possessed of a thorough acquaintance with general principles. He must be a rapid facial diagnoser, not necessarily a diagnoser of disease, but a detector of any abnormal condition. He must be interested in educational problems, and must understand the aims and general scope of school work in the various standards. He must be interested in child life, and acquainted with the physiological and psychological development of the child. He plays the part, as it were, of a professional pedagogue. He must show great sympathy and tact. In short, the school doctor's work is partly psychological and partly pedagogical" (20, 152, 154).

English physicians seem to have a comprehensive view of the subjects, and are bold enough to face the problem in its entirety. It may turn out to be too big a field for one man to cover, but that will adjust itself in time. In the meantime, the important thing is to see the whole problem, to enlist men in the work who have a live interest in the problems to be solved, and to pay them a salary sufficiently large to induce them to make health inspection not an avocation but a profession.

The School Nurse

As soon as health inspection was established, it became apparent that there was a great gap between the detection of disease and defects, and the amelioration of such conditions. Simply to know that defects exist, is of very little value unless remedial and educational agencies can be put in operation. It was largely the realization of this need which brought the nurse into the field of health inspection. She has been a great success from the very beginning, and the demand for more nurses, even at the expense of reducing the force of inspectors, comes from every quarter.

Before nurses were employed in New York City (5), a notice of defects found was sent out by the inspector to the parent, with the advice that a family physician be consulted. Under this régime, about 6% of the children requiring it, were treated. During 1909, with the present staff of nurses, 87% of those who were found defective received treatment. In April, 1910, there were sixty-seven cities in the United States employing one or more school nurses.

There is no general uniformity with regard to the duties of the nurse and the limitations of her work. In places where inspectors and nurses are both employed, the nurse usually assists the inspector in routine examinations; in many cases she makes records of defects and prepares notices to be sent to parents. She also makes records for her own use, and permanent records for the school. In some places she makes general inspection of all pupils, selecting such as appear to be defective to be referred to the inspector. She makes routine inspection for contagious diseases and treats minor contagious diseases in school. She recommends to the principal for exclusion, cases of the more serious contagious diseases. In New York City all cases of communicable disease are referred to the inspector for diagnosis before she may treat them, but in some other places she has jurisdiction in all cases of contagious disease, at once treating the minor cases and advising exclusion for suspicious cases of a more serious nature. She holds conferences with teachers and

parents at school, giving instruction and personal advice with regard to the health of the children; she gives addresses to parents and pupils on general hygiene. In Boston (19) a course is outlined for this purpose including the following topics: the teeth, diet for growing children, special talks to "Little Mothers" on the care of babies, artificial feeding, home methods of pasteurizing milk, first aid in case of emergencies, the paths by which the body eliminates waste products, sterile water, antiseptic solutions, bandages, emetics, stimulants, artificial heat, etc.

Whenever parents do not respond to notices sent them concerning the defects of their children, she follows them to their homes, sees the parent or guardian, explains the nature of the case, looks into the home conditions of the child which may be responsible for the difficulty, tactfully instructs the mother with regard to the care of the child, gives demonstrations of treatment in some cases, instructs the mother with regard to the proper food for the sick and frequently gives demonstrations in its preparation. If the case has been referred to the family physician and the mother is not able or cannot find time to take the child she offers her services. In some cases she may also nurse the child in the home under the direction of the family physician. If it is a surgical case parents are advised and urged to consult a specialist; if not able to do so the child is referred to a hospital or charitable institution, or in some cities, to a specialist who performs services gratis in such cases (46). Here again the nurse frequently accompanies the child, but she must have a written request before she may do so. In 1910 the nurses of Boston (18) took over 2,500 children to dentists, over 9,000 children to hospitals; they secured the correction of 3,377 cases of defective vision, and 848 cases of defective hearing. In this connection Dr. Harrington says: "All this co-operation has resulted without one complaint of interference, usurpation, or weakening in any manner the unity and sanctity of the home."

The nurse has also proved efficient in increasing the average attendance by visiting children absent from school on account of some minor illness, or sickness in the family. In this way she reaches, and effectively disposes of, cases which have been the bane of the truant officer.

In a few places nurses receive their appointment through a civil service examination, but in most places the only qualification required is graduation from a training school for nurses. The school nurse combines the work of the trained nurse and the social worker; besides, her work as a nurse in school is quite different from the work in private practice, so that her

training must be different in order to insure the greatest efficiency. But, as in the case of the school physician, there are at present no institutions giving this special training, and until such provisions have been made she must receive her special training in service.

Dr. Hogarth suggests that her training should consist of "three years' work in a large general hospital of not less than one hundred beds. A period of this hospital training should have been specially devoted either to outpatient work, or to duty in a special department for skin diseases or for orthopædics. In addition to this general training, she requires special training for the further period of at least one year. Six months should have been spent in the wards and outpatients' department of a children's hospital, and for three months she should attend the practice of a hospital for skin diseases, and another three months should be devoted to the study of infectious diseases. After such a systematic course of training, a nurse should be capable of undertaking school duties" (20, 182).

This would no doubt be an excellent training for the work of the school nurse, but it will be some time before such a standard can be set in this country. In large cities where the work is well organized, it seems as though a very efficient system of training might be carried on in connection with the regular work, where graduate nurses might be taken as assistants and a course of instruction and training given by experts. Such a training would have an advantage over the training suggested by Dr. Hogarth in that it would be less artificial, it would increase interest by bringing the nurse sooner into close quarters with her chosen work, and it would be practical.

To sum up, the nurse is an extremely important and a very efficient factor in health inspection. The health inspector discovers needs, the nurse accomplishes results; her work is broader than that of the ordinary hospital or private nurse, it includes both medical and social service. She must be faithful, intelligent, tactful and optimistic.

The Teacher

When health inspection of schools began in the United States, very little thought was given to the part that the teachers might perform in this work. In fact, it was held by some that no part of the work could be satisfactorily done by the teachers, and an attempt was made in several places to get along without their assistance teacher in selecting pupils for examination, but it was soon found that any system

of inspection requiring the presence of the physician a sufficient length of time and his contact with individual pupils to a sufficient degree to directly supervise the health of the pupil, would be too costly and would interfere too much with school routine. It was also noted that teachers were much interested in the physical welfare of their pupils wherever their attention was called to the matter. In fact, teachers were found to be among the most enthusiastic advocates of health inspection.

When Massachusetts passed a law requiring health inspection in the schools of the state, it was specified that the tests for sight and hearing should be made by the teachers. Such tests had been made in other states by teachers, but simply because there were no physicians to do the work. In Massachusetts it was deliberately put into the hands of the teachers, and this action was supported by experts. The rules of the state board of education of New Jersey specify that these tests shall be made by the physician, but many cities throughout the country follow the Massachusetts plan.

In present systems the teacher takes a larger share of the responsibility in selecting pupils who need medical care and those who should be inspected for contagious diseases. At most, there is but one routine inspection for contagious diseases per month made by the inspector, or by the nurse as the case may be. In many places there is no routine inspection for contagious diseases, leaving the responsibility for noting symptoms and referring pupils to the inspector for examination, or for excluding them, entirely with the teacher. In other places the inspector or nurse occasionally visits the class rooms and looks them over without making individual inspection, in still other places the inspector calls at the school only when notified by the teacher that suspicious cases have been found.

In the matter of mental and physical defectiveness, the teacher's part is of still greater importance. In some places a general physical examination of all pupils is made annually or biennially, or triennially, by the inspector. In other places there is no general physical examination for all pupils, but only for such as the inspector or nurse may select from general appearance, and such as are referred by the teacher.

In Oshkosh, Wisconsin, all examinations and observations are made by the teachers. "All teachers work under the direction of the director of physical education who instructs them in regard to the examination of eye, ear, nose and throat, supervises play and instructs the teachers in detecting physical defects and signs of disease."[1]

[1]Supt. M. N. McIver.

In Colorado, as we have seen, the responsibility for discovering defectiveness rests with the teacher.

The importance of the teacher's part in any system of health inspection is no longer in question. It is entirely a question of the division of labor. Just how far should the teacher be expected to assume responsibility for the physical welfare of her pupils, and to what extent are the services of the school physician required? What division of labor would give us the best results? This is a matter which can be settled only by experience in the light of local conditions, but we may point out some of the factors which will have to be taken into account in the solution of the problem.

It is urged by some that the teacher is already overburdened, that her chief business is to teach, and that she cannot do this effectively if she has other responsibilities. "I wonder," says a recent writer, "if we should hold that teacher culpable who becomes so interested in the training of a child that she forgets winds, dampers, registers, thermometers and thermostats? Teachers and children alike should be furnished buildings properly heated, properly ventilated, and properly cared for from morning to night" (17).

The spirit of this statement is justifiable, and yet therein lurks a danger. Have we not all seen teachers who became so thoroughly absorbed in the subject matter which they were trying to impart that they forgot the individual child? Is it psychologically possible for a teacher to give the health of the child the proper place in school work if she lack the apperceptive appreciation which can come only from first hand knowledge and application of health principles? The problems of education are complex, the factors are many, but if we hope to solve these problems we must take every single factor into account. The ordinary teacher does not need to be a specialist in all lines, but she does need a broad perspective.

Again, the matter of expense is a legitimate matter to consider in any system of health inspection, and it is evident that the more the work done by the teacher the less will be the cost. Much of the work also can probably be done better by the intelligent teacher than by the ordinary school physician. It is maintained by specialists (32) (1) that eye and ear tests can be made to better advantage by teachers than by the school physician, unless he be a specialist. They hold that to make an accurate test of eyes requires "an amount of time and skill few school physicians have at their command for this purpose;" that the ordinary superficial examination with test cards for the mere purpose of detecting defectiveness can be made better by the teacher because she understands the child individually, knows the progress the child is making in

the school, has the best possible opportunity to detect symptoms of astigmatism and other defects which would not come out in the ordinary card test; and the results would serve their purpose better because parents, knowing that the test was made by the teacher, would be less likely to depend upon its accuracy and would be more likely to consult a specialist. Besides this, they take into account the subjective effect upon the teacher in impressing upon her the relation of physical defect to school work. It does not seem at all clear why these same arguments would not hold with equal force when applied to the superficial examination for hypertrophied tonsils and adenoids.

On the other hand, the work of the teacher in detecting defects and disease can never be other than superficial. Many of the more hidden defects will go unobserved, defects showing no present symptoms but which in time will become serious; hence the general agreement that a complete physical examination of every child in the public school should be made periodically by a competent physician. The teacher also needs careful supervision and instruction; she needs some one whom she may consult and upon whose judgment she may rely. Her responsibility in this direction must not be too great; for it must never be forgotten that after all the core of her work must always be teaching or training.

But we have assumed in this discussion a degree of knowledge and of skill on the part of the teacher which she does not at present possess. If she is to rise to her opportunity in this direction, she must come to her work with better preparation; or if she finds herself in the work unprepared, she must make efforts to overcome the deficiency.

In the matter of health inspection we are all facing a comparatively new problem, although the needs are as old as the school itself; hence we find all concerned—physician, nurse, teacher and the general public—unprepared to meet it, but it is intensely interesting, offering opportunities for originality and ingenuity for those who have the proper perspective.

The training schools have thus far done very little for the teacher in this important field. Thus far she has been dependent upon the instruction given her by the school physician and by the school nurse. This is valuable, and always will be valuable, but the health factor ought to touch her training in the training school at every point. It is a part of the whole problem of education, and not a separate entity.

Aim

There seem to be in general two aims in medical inspection of schools. The answers to my questionnaire would indicate that in the majority of cases the immediate end is stressed.

The thing that stands out prominently and almost alone in many cases is the immediate prevention of contagious diseases and the correction of physical defects. In a few cases, however, the outlook is broader. The leaders are aiming not only to relieve the immediate situation but to remove the causes which are responsible for the situation as it is. They have a larger perspective; they look upon the social rather than upon the individual side; the educational rather than the pathological side; they hope to see as the result of their efforts not only a decrease in the amount of contagious disease in school and an increase of the efficiency and happiness of the pupils of to-day but they hope through the unique opportunities which this work opens to them to secure better social conditions; to train in habits of thought and action which will make for better health, better home conditions, better citizenship. They are able to touch people where no other agency could possibly touch them, and to bring new ideals and new prospects into their lives.

It is true that no matter how narrow the aim of a system of medical inspection may be, it cannot escape from producing some educational results, and it is also true that the broader aim necessarily includes the narrower; and yet the methods and results, the general tone of the system will be very different depending upon whether the one or the other aim is stressed.

The narrower aim is much more easily justified: the results are immediate and it more easily catches the popular ear. Here are boys and girls who fail to have equal opportunities with their associates because of some remediable physical defects, or because of neglect or malnutrition. The state defeats its own ends by compelling children to attend school without providing that they should at the same time be able to benefit by it. The situation is serious; it is difficult to get parents to act; therefore the state must take the matter in hand. We must in some cases have compulsory treatment; we must have free clinics, free meals, free clothes, free trips to the country, etc.

The broader aim is more difficult to maintain. The results are more remote. Patience and perseverance in the face of criticism are the difficult virtues upon which success depends. Where there is an apparent conflict between immediate relief and the larger educational results the latter must be chosen. Only in extreme cases must financial aid be given. Free treatment is a last resort. The argument is that in a large percentage of cases of neglect it is a matter of lack of responsibility on the part of the parent, due largely to ignorance. Now if you can get the confidence of the parent, if you can

make him see the needs of the child, and can arouse him to action without compulsion you have stimulated in him a better self, you have aroused latent motives, you have made that individual a better parent, a better citizen, a more intelligent and happier man or woman.

In New York City the chief of the Division of Child Hygiene is thoroughly alive to this broader view and this explains many of the features of the system.

It explains why there are not more free clinics and dispensaries maintained by the Department. The efforts of the department in this direction have been towards organizing existing agencies and putting people in touch with them. The only free clinics maintained by the department are those for pulmonary tuberculosis, and for trachoma and other eye diseases, and an attempt is now being made to establish free Dental clinics all of which are imperative. It explains further the reason for making so many visits to a single home for the purpose of securing the correction of a single defect and why the instructional and demonstrational phases loom so large.

Results

One of the first results of health inspection was to open the eyes of physicians and school-men to the fact that a very large number of school children are suffering from remediable defects. A few of the more recent results will be sufficient to give us an idea of the extent of defectiveness. An examination into the physical conditions of school children of the school of observation at the University of Pennsylvania (10) in the summer of 1909, shows that, disregarding decayed teeth, 36.5 % were found physically defective. A similar examination of 8,038 school children at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1909, showed that 27.5% had some defect of sufficient gravity to seriously interfere with their school work." In New York City (5), in 1909, 74% of the children examined were found to have one or more defects. In the same year an examination of 4,582 children in Newark, New Jersey, revealed defects in 53% of the children. (See the annual school report of Harrisburg, 1910, and of Newark, 1909.)

The general order of defects is fairly constant in the various investigations made.

The following table gives the results in a number of representative cases. The figures under each defect show the per cent. of the whole number of children examined who were found defective.

		Defective Teeth	Defective Vision	Hyper. Tonsils	Adenoids	Defective Hearing
Pasadena, Cal.	1909	30	17	6	5	3
Lowell, Mass.	1909	——	10	7	3	3
Newark, N. J.	1909	8.5	13	4	5	1.4
Harrisburg, Pa.	1909	8	30	36	19	7
New York City	1909	54	17	22	19	—
Cleveland, O.	1910	27	27	15.4	8	2.5
School of Observation Univ. of Pa.	1909	38.5	28	5.1	13.5	5.1

The low percentage of defective teeth in the Newark and Harrisburg reports are due to the fact that only very bad cases are reported. The percentages under adenoids for the school of observation of the University of Pennsylvania and for New York City are cases of defective breathing indicating adenoids. The table indicates that defects are found in the following order: Defective teeth, defective vision, hypertrophied tonsils, adenoids, and defective hearing. Other defects are found to a less degree.

Health inspection had not proceeded very far before a relation was observed between physical defectiveness and school progress, and several interesting studies have been made in an attempt to state this relation more definitely.

In 1908 Dr. Leonard P. Ayres (2) examined the records of 8,000 pupils in fifteen schools of Manhattan who had been examined by school physicians, in an endeavor to find the relation between retardation and physical defects. His first conclusions are as follows:

1st. That nearly 80% of the children who were of normal age for their grades were found to have physical defects, while only 75% of retarded children were defective.

2nd. That the percentage of defective children in the lower grades was decidedly greater than in the upper grades, defective vision alone increasing slowly but steadily with advancing age.

These results were entirely unexpected. However, the first is partly explained by the second. The retarded children in any particular grade are, of course, older than the normal children in the same grade, and since defects tend to disappear with age, the retarded children have less defects because they are older.

Dr. Ayres then retabulates the records of all these children between the ages of ten and fourteen, using age instead of grade as the basis and assuming that a child of ten in the second, third, or fourth grade is normal; a child of eleven in the third, fourth, or fifth grade is normal; a child of twelve in the fourth, fifth, or sixth grade is normal, etc. Below these grades he is

assumed to be dull, and above he is assumed to be bright. According to this method he finds that the dull pupil has an average of 1.65 defects, the normal child has an average of 1.30 defects, and the bright child has an average of 1.07 defects. In other words, the dull child is found to be much more defective in degree than the normal child, and the normal child more defective than the bright child.

He gives another table showing the relative influence of different defects on school progress as follows:

Defects	Percentage of loss in progress
Enlarged glands	14.9
Defective vision	none
Defective breathing	7.2
Defective teeth	5.9
Hypertrophied tonsils	8.9
Adenoids	14.1
Other defects	.8.5
Average	8.8

He concludes:

"In general, children suffering from physical defects are found to make 8.8% less progress than do children having no physical defects. Children suffering from enlarged glands and adenoids are retarded most. Hypertrophied tonsils, defective breathing and defective teeth are in general somewhat less serious in their effects."

In this investigation, Dr. Ayres does not find any noticeable effect of defective vision on school progress.

In 1909 Dr. Taussig (33) examined the school children of St. Louis County, Mo., limiting his investigations to impaired vision, defective hearing, and well marked adenoids. His findings, so far as they go, correspond fairly well with those of Dr. Ayres with one notable exception. Ayres finds that visual defects increase with age while Taussig finds exactly the opposite results. These figures are based on the assumption that all children are of equal mental capacity, that all children of a certain grade are of equal attainments and further, that defects of a particular kind would have exactly the same results regardless of the degree of defect. What makes the problem still more complex, is the fact that many children suffer from a complication of defects so that these results can be interpreted only in a very general way.

While no very definite results on a large scale have yet been worked out to show the relation between school progress and the general welfare of the child on the one hand, and physical defects on the other, concrete evidence of individual cases is plentiful showing almost phenomenal changes in intellectual

activity and general character resulting from the correction of physical defects.

But finding defects and showing the relation between defectiveness and the general welfare of the child, while in itself worth while from an educational point of view, is not sufficient to meet present needs. One of the first discouragements to come to the school physician was the fact that very few practical results were accomplished. Parents did not respond readily to information given them with regard to the welfare of their children, and in order to overcome the inertia of parents in this respect, the follow up system was established, through which immediate practical results, as well as fundamental educational results, are accomplished. In this way from fifty to eighty per cent. of those children found defective secure treatment.

The most apparent results are shown in the case of minor contagious diseases. In New York City (5) during the first half of the year 1909, 329,848 cases of eye and skin diseases were found, and during the second half of the same year only 121,667 cases were found; a decrease of over 60%, and this is the more remarkable if we remember that the second half year follows the summer vacation. Besides this, cases found during the present year are reported to be of a much milder type. Similar results are shown with regard to pediculosis, and it is generally reported that the personal appearance of the children, especially in congested districts, has improved remarkably.

While the immediate practical results which are manifest in defects remedied, in brighter and happier faces, in greater interest, in better conduct, are great; the educational results, especially where adequate home extension work is done, are of even greater importance. This work links the home with the school; it increases the responsibility of parents by increasing their knowledge; it calls the attention of negligent parents to the fact that they cannot neglect their children without the censure of society, in which they themselves must live. If parents can be brought to sacrifice for their children intelligently, they cannot help thereby acquiring a deeper affection for them: this often marks the beginning of life on a higher plane.

A most excellent statement of what health inspection is accomplishing from the educational point of view is given by Superintendent Mackey, of Trenton, New Jersey. He says: "It emphasizes the importance of good health; the relation of health to efficiency, and that of adult life to child life, and of moral, mental, and spiritual welfare to physical well being. It creates new ideals and new standards of health, and gives

an inspiring vision of a more abundant life. It tends to give a clearer, more convincing, more widespread conception of the relation and responsibilities of individuals to human welfare and to promote more intelligent, far-reaching and effective plans for human betterment. It helps to give teachers a better understanding of, and a keener sympathy with their pupils and to establish better methods of teaching and courses of study."

Concluding Remarks

There does not appear to be in the United States, among those who are attempting health inspection of schools in some form or other, an adequate general conception of the problems involved. In many places health inspection means detection and elimination of contagious diseases; in other places it includes a hasty glance at each pupil to find serious defects; in still other places there is a vague idea of some connection between physical soundness and hygienic environment on the one hand, and school progress and moral soundness on the other. In a few places a broad foundation is being laid and the problems are being attacked in the light of a large perspective. One reason for this chaotic condition is that our exact knowledge of the processes of physical and mental development in the child is still rather meagre and inaccessible, and another reason is that as teachers and physicians we have not taken the pains to acquaint ourselves with known facts.

The idea involved in health inspection is broader than the elimination of contagious diseases; it is broader than the examination of children for physical defects and the remedial processes involved; it is an epoch-making idea. It means that the best education, the highest efficiency, the loftiest morals, the greatest happiness are inseparable from health. It has been said that we have paid too much attention in the schools to psychology and method, we have been too much concerned to impart knowledge and to train for efficiency, and we have paid too little attention to health and to the individual child. The latter part of this statement is true, but the former is false. No one has been too enthusiastic in lifting the race to higher levels, but we are becoming conscious of the fact that we have not been doing our work in the light of the proper perspective. Genetic psychology, experimental pedagogy, scientific investigation of the physical development of the individual, of the nature of fatigue and its relation to the periods of work, of the cause of disease and its prevention: these studies, while still in their initial stages of development, are giving us some idea of the future possibilities of the race,

and health inspection is merely an attempt to adjust our educational activities in the light of present knowledge and in the direction of those possibilities which we as yet see but indistinctly.

We need to take a broader view of education. We need to include in it, not only school activities and influences directly, but the entire environment of the child from birth. The problem of health, then, becomes merged in the larger problem of education. The problems of education are complex, and must be solved by actual contact and repeated re-adjustments as more light dawns; but while we are facing these problems practically, patiently and persistently, the lack of vision is painfully apparent in much of our educational work, and health inspection is no exception.

Our departments of education in colleges and universities; our training schools for teachers; our medical and dental schools; our training schools for nurses; our churches; our training schools for social workers, all have responsibilities and opportunities here which should challenge them to the most serious endeavor. Each must contribute its quota to the solution of the problem of hygienic living in the broadest sense.

Bibliography

1. Allport, Frank. A Plea for the Systematic Annual and Universal Examination of School Children's Eyes and Ears. *Psyc. Clinic,* Vol. III, No. 3, May 15, 1909.
2. Ayres, Leonard P. The Effect of Physical Defects on School Progress. *Psyc. Clinic,* Vol. III, No. 3, May 15, 1909. pp. 71-77.
3. Burnham, W. H. The Need of More Attention to Health in the Public Schools. *Proceedings of the 46th Annual Convention of the University of the State of New York. Bulletin,* No. 443, March 15, 1909. pp. 23-35.
4. —— ——. "Bibliography of School Hygiene." *Transactions Nat. Ed. Asso.,* 1898. pp. 506-523.
5. Baker, S. Josephine. The Division of Child Hygiene of the Department of Health of New York City. Reprint from *Woman's Medical Journal,* April, 1910. p. 15.
6. Cronin, John J. Report of Committee on Status of Medical Inspection of School Children throughout the United States. *Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the American School Hygiene Association.* Indianapolis, Mch. 2, 3, and 4, 1910. pp. 176-183.
7. Caruthers, D. A. The Medical Examination of the School Child. London, 1910. p. 91.
8. Cornell, Walter S. Mentally Defective Children in Public Schools. *Psyc. Clinic,* May 15, 1908. pp. 75-86.
9. —— ——. The Need of Improved Records of the Physical Condition of School Children. *Psyc. Clinic,* Vol. III, No. 6, November 15, 1909. pp. 161-163.
10. —— ——. The Physical Condition of the School Children of the School of Observation, University of Penn., *Psyc. Clinic,* Vol. III, No. 5, Oct. 15, 1909. pp. 134-135.
11. —— ——. The Nurse as a Municipal Officer. *Psyc. Clinic,* Vol. IV, No. 1, Dec. 15, 1910. pp. 181-188.

12. Cornell, Walter H. The Nervous Disorders of School Children. *Psyc. Clinic*, Vol. IV, No. 3, May 15, 1910. pp. 65-78.
13. Crawley, Ralph H. The Hygiene of School Life. London, 1910. 403 p.
14. Connecticut School Document No. 10. Laws relating to Schools. 1910.
15. Gulick and Ayres. Medical Inspection of Schools. New York, 1908. 276 p.
16. Heeter S. L. Medical Inspection in the St. Paul Schools. *Psyc. Clinic*, Vol. III, No. 3, May 15, 1909. pp. 61-66.
17. ——— ———. Conservation of Health in the School Room. *Psyc. Clinic*, Vol. III, No. 5, Oct. 15, 1909. pp. 121-124.
18. Harrington, Thomas F. Health and Education. Reprint from the *American Physical Education Review*, June, 1910.
19. ——— ———. Report on Department of School Hygiene. Reprint from Superintendent of School's Report. 1908. 81 p.
20. Hogarth, A. H. Medical Inspection of Schools. London, 1909. 360 p.
21. Holmes, Arthur. Can Impacted Teeth Cause Moral Delinquency? *Psyc. Clinic*, Vol. IV, No. 1, March 15, 1910. pp. 19-22.
22. Kelynack, T. N. Medical Examination of Schools and Scholars. London, 1910. 421 p.
23. Kirk, Edward C. The Dental Disabilities of School Children, *Psyc. Clinic*, Vol. III, No. 8, Jan. 15, 1910. pp. 217-223.
24. Leslie, Geo. L. Health and Development Supervision of the Public Schools of California. *Psyc. Clinic*, Vol. IV, No. 2, April 15, 1910. pp. 33-39.
25. ——— ———. A Department of Health and Development for the Public Schools. MS. Unpublished.
26. Martin, George S. A Lesson from Medical Inspection of Schools. *Psyc. Clinic*, Vol. III, No. 1, March 15, 1909. pp. 9-13.
27. ——— ———. School Hygiene in Massachusetts. Reprint from the Seventy-second Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education. 27 p.
28. ——— ———. Medical Inspection in the Public Schools of Massachusetts. Reprint from the Seventy-fourth Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education. 30 p.
30. Schlegel, George S. The Reading Free Dental Dispensary. *Psyc. Clinic*, Vol. III, No. 9, Feb. 15, 1910. pp. 249-254.
31. Sneed, C. M. and Whipple, Guy Montrose. An Examination of the Eyes, Ears and Throats of Children in the Public Schools of Jefferson County, Missouri. *Psyc. Clinic*, Vol. II, No. 8, Jan. 15, 1909. pp. 234-238.
32. Standish, Dr. Miles. Should the Examination of School Children be conducted by the Teacher or School Physician? *American Physical Education Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 4.
33. Taussig, Albert E. The Prevalence of Visual and Aural Defects among the Public School Children of St. Louis County, Mo. *Psyc. Clinic*, Vol. III, No. 6, Nov. 15, 1909. pp. 149-160.
34. Upsom, Henry S. Moral Aberration due to Physical Irritants. *Psyc. Clinic*, Vol. IV, No. 6, Nov. 15, 1910. pp. 149-154.
35. Wallin, J. E. Wallace. Medical and Dental Inspection in the Cleveland Schools. *Psyc. Clinic*, Vol. IV, No. 4, June 15, 1910. pp. 93-108.

See also the School Laws of the different states mentioned, the annual reports of the public schools in the different cities, and various articles in the following periodicals:

The Psychological Clinic (Philadelphia), *School Hygiene* (London), and the *Zeitschrif für Schulegesundheitspflege* (Hamburg).

Appendix

School Medical Inspection in New York City

School Medical Inspection was initiated in New York City in 1897 by the appointment of fifty medical inspectors at a salary of $30.00 per month. Each inspector was assigned to a number of schools which he visited each morning and examined pupils referred to him by the teachers as suspected cases of contagious disease.

In September, 1902, the system was extended so as to include also routine weekly inspection of children in the class rooms, and the visiting of absentees at their homes. The salary of the inspector was increased to $100 per month. December 1st, 1902, a corps of trained nurses was appointed at a salary of $75.00 per month. Thus far the work was altogether directed towards the elimination of contagious disease.

March 27th, 1905, marked the inception of a complete physical examination for each child in the public schools below the high school.

The next important advance in the development of medical inspection in New York City came on Aug. 19th, 1908, when the Board of Health created the Division of Child Hygiene as an integral part of the Department of Health.

Organization and Activities of the Division

The staff of the Division of Child Hygiene includes at present one hundred sixty-one medical inspectors and one hundred forty-two nurses and they are organized as follows:

A chief of the Division, who has the administrative control of the work throughout the city, receiving a salary of $3,000.00.

There are five Borough chiefs at an annual salary of from $1,500 to $2,000. The Borough chief is in charge of the work in a Borough and is directly responsible to the chief of the Dvision. There are eleven supervising inspectors at an annual salary of $1,500. They are under the direction of the Borough chief and in charge of a squad of from 10 to 15 inspectors; each inspector receiving an annual salary of $1,200.

The superintendent of nurses receives an annual salary of $1,200. She is in charge of the work of the nurses throughout the city and is directly responsible to the chief of the Division. There are seven supervising nurses and a corps of active nurses.

The activities of the Division of Child Hygiene include more than the medical inspection of school children. The plan includes "a comprehensive supervision of the health of

the child from birth to puberty in so far as a municipal health department" can "control the conditions of child life."[1]

The most important activities are:

1. The control and supervision of midwives.
2. Instruction of mothers in the care of babies.
3. Supervision of foundling babies boarding out in homes.
4. Inspection and sanitary supervision of day nurseries.
5. Inspection of Institutions harboring dependent children.
6. Medical inspection and examination of school children.
7. Enforcement of that part of the child labor law which relates to the issuing of employment certificates.[1]

Morning Inspection

In all the earlier systems of school medical inspection the sole object was to detect and exclude cases of contagious disease. Morning inspection was the first method of inspection and it is still retained as a part of the system in New York City.

Each inspector visits each one of his schools every morning before 10 o'clock and examines in a room set apart for that purpose.

1. All children referred by the teacher as cases of suspected contagious diseases.
2. Children who have been absent from school for several days.
3. All children returning after previous exclusion.
4. All children referred for diagnosis by the nurse.

For convenience contagious diseases are designated in two grades—major contagious diseases, including small pox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, chicken pox, whooping cough, mumps, and pulmonary tuberculosis in active stage; and minor contagious diseases including acute conjunctivitis, trachoma, skin diseases, pediculosis, etc.

Cases of major contagious diseases are at once excluded. The inspector immediately telephones the name and address to the Borough Office of the Division of Contagious Diseases. He duplicates this by a notice through the mail and again includes the case in his daily report. The Division of Contagious Diseases at once sends a diagnostician, except in case of diphtheria or pulmonary tuberculosis, in order to confirm the diagnosis. If the diagnosis is confirmed the case remains under the control of the Division of Contagious Diseases; if not confirmed, the Division of Contagious Diseases

[1]The Division of Child Hygiene of the Department of Health, N. Y. City.—S. Josephine Baker, M. D.

issues a certificate allowing the child to return to school at once.

In case of diphtheria the inspector takes a culture and the diagnosis depends upon the outcome of the culture. Cases of tuberculosis are referred for treatment to the family physician, or to the Department of Health clinic and a special report is made to the chief of the Division of Child Hygiene.

Children affected with contagious eye and skin diseases whose parents have persistently refused to obtain treatment are excluded, and cases of pediculosis with live pediculi may be excluded. Minor contagious diseases under treatment are as a rule retained in school excepting very severe cases of scabies and trachoma.

Routine Inspection for Contagious Diseases

This was the second development in the system of medical inspection in New York City and it is still retained. A few weeks after school opens in the fall, giving a little time for adjustment of school activities, and for all pupils to become enrolled, a general routine inspection of all children is made by the medical inspector. The inspector takes his position in some convenient, well lighted corner of the class room. All pupils form in line and filt past him for inspection. In passing the pupil exposes to view the palms of his hands and his wrists, pulls down the eyelids exposing the conjunctiva, opens the mouth, and the girls life up the back hair: wooden tongue depressors are furnished by the department and a separate one is used for each child. This routine is made by the inspector at the beginning of each term, and is repeated by the nurse at least once a month throughout the year.

Contagious diseases are designated according to a certain code as follows:

1. Diphtheria
2. Pediculosis
3. Tonsilitis
4. Pediculosis
5. Acute Conjunctivitis
6. Pediculosis
7. Trachoma
8. Pediculosis
9. Scarlet Fever
10. Measles
11. Varicella
12. Pertussis
13. Mumps
14. Scabies
15. Ringworm
16. Impetigo
17. Favus
18. Malluscum Contagiosum
19. Acute Coryza

When the physician diagnoses a case he calls out the code number, the teacher puts down the name of the child with the code number. This was done originally to keep the children in ignorance with regard to the disease indicated but they are

now quite familiar with the code so that at present it serves merely as a convenient method of making records.

Children who are found with symptoms of a major contagious disease are given an exclusion card and the Department of Contagious Diseases is notified as indicated before.

Cases of acute conjunctivitis and of skin diseases are referred to the family physician; or, if no family physician can be obtained, to dispensaries or to the school nurse for treatment. Trachoma is referred to the family physician or to one of the clinics of the Board of Health. Children returning after small pox, scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles and chicken pox must present a certificate from the Division of Contagious Diseases, and this certificate must be seen by the inspector before the child can be re-admitted. In case of mumps and whooping cough he may be admitted at the discretion of the medical inspector.

Physicals

There are three classes of physical examinations. 1. Routine Physicals. 2. Work Paper Physicals. 3. Physicals for athletics.

Each morning as soon as the inspector has made his tour of morning inspections, he stops at one of his schools and proceeds to make regular physical examinations. These examinations cover the following points: Defective vision, defective hearing, defective nasal breathing, hypertrophied tonsils, tuberculous lymphnodes, pulmonary disease, cardiac disease, chorea, orthopædic defects, malnutrition, defective teeth, defective palate. A measurement of height is also made.

The examinations are made in the following order: First those children entering school for the first time. Second, beginning with children of the lower grades and proceeding to the higher grades in regular order.

When the pupil comes for his physical examination he brings with him his school record card, one side of which contains his school record, the other side contains his physical record. A duplicate of this record is made, one is kept by the nurse, the other goes back to the teacher. In case of a defect a record is also made out by the inspector which is sent to headquarters, a duplicate record is made for the nurse upon which she records the progress of the case and when it is terminated she sends the record to headquarters. Each defective child is also given a parent's notification card.

Work paper physical examinations are always made when called for, and they cover practically the same ground as

the regular physicals. When defects are found which are likely to interfere with a child's health and efficiency his papers are withheld and he is told to return when the defect has been remedied.

Physical examinations for athletics are made upon demand. The most important consideration here is the examination of heart and lungs. When a case shows marked defectiveness a complete physical examination is made. If no defects are found the pupil is passed and no record is kept save the official record of the Department of Physical Culture.

The Medical Inspector

Besides the activities of the medical inspector already indicated, he visits at their homes all children excluded by the nurse or principal as cases of suspicious contagious disease. He obtains each day from the clerks of the schools a list of all pupils who have been absent for three or more days, and when there is any suspicion of contagion, he visits these at their homes and he reports to the Chief of the Division the names and addresses of all cases of contagious disease found. Whenever the nurse reports her inability to move the parent to action in case of non-contagious physical defects, the inspector must visit the case and instruct the family as to the necessity of treatment. He visits all cases of still birth reported by midwives, and inspects the equipment and surroundings of all midwives in his district at least once a month. He also inspects day nurseries and institutions harboring dependent children. He gives lectures and instructions to mothers at the educational centres and certain inspectors are detailed to visit the recreation piers, treat sick children and instruct mothers. He also gives lectures to Little Mothers' Leagues and he treats cases of summer complaint reported by the nurses. These latter activities are carried on during the summer months when the inspector is free from the regular routine of school inspection.

The School Nurse

The school nurse is a comparatively recent addition in medical inspection. She took her present place in New York City when the Division of School Hygiene was established in 1908. She was a success from the very beginning and her reputation is ever increasing. Before the nurse came a notice of defects found was sent out by the inspector to the parent with the advice that a family physician should be consulted. Under this régime about 6% of the children were

treated. During 1909, with the present staff of nurses, 87% of those who were found defective received treatment.

The nurses in New York City are required to have passed a civil service examination. They are assigned to a group of schools having from 4,000 to 6,000 pupils.

The nurse visits each school each day. She meets each morning all children referred to her by the inspector for instruction or treatment. She refers to the report of the inspector left for her and treats each case accordingly. The treatments she is allowed to give are prescribed in the rules and regulations of the Division of Child Hygiene. When cases of minor contagious diseases are referred to her she is responsible for them until terminated.

Children affected with pediculosis are assembled in groups and instructed as to the methods of home treatment. They each receive a circular of "Instructions to Parents on the Care of Children's Hair and Scalp" and are instructed to report to the nurse at least once a week.

Children affected with trachoma are never treated by the nurse, but they are instructed by her as to the necessity of treatment. If a family physician cannot be secured they are referred to the Eye Hospital and Dispensaries of the Department of Health. If parents neglect to procure treatment the nurse visits the home and explains the need of medical care. If she does not succeed she refers the case back to the inspector. The nurse treats cases of communicable eye and skin diseases.

At least once a month the nurse makes a routine inspection for contagious diseases. She proceeds exactly in the same manner as does the inspector in his routine examination at the beginning of each term. Whenever she finds a case with symptoms of contagious disease she refers the case to the principal for exclusion and at once notifies the Division of Child Hygiene, whereupon an inspector is sent to diagnose the case. All other cases are referred to the inspector on the following morning for diagnosis. The nurse makes no diagnosis whatever.

Each day the inspector hands the nurse a complete physical record of each child examined by him on that day. The nurse fills out for each defective child a notice to the parent asking that the parent report to the nurse for instruction. This notice is signed by the inspector and handed over to the principal who mails it to the parent. If the parent does not report within three days, the nurse follows the case to the home, and right here, perhaps, is the point of greatest efficiency in the system, a fact which I will try to make more apparent later on in the report.

Remedial Agencies

All cases are in the first instance referred to the family physician and where it is evident that parents can afford to pay for treatment this is insisted upon, but in many of the cases that have to be followed to their homes by the nurse this cannot be done. The nurse is supposed to be perfectly familiar with remedial agencies in her district and she refers each case to an appropriate agency, very frequently herself accompanying the child, but in each case she must first get the written consent of the parent.

The Department of Health maintains one hospital and two dispensaries for the treatment of trachoma and all cases of trachoma not treated by a physician are referred to one of these institutions. Each child treated is given a card which is stamped each time treatment is given so that the nurse may follow up the case and know when treatment is regular.

The Department of Health also maintains several tuberculosis clinics. Besides these clinics there are many other institutions which emphasize this work. At present there is an association of tuberculosis clinics whose purpose is the control and treatment of tuberculosis in the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx. These boroughs are divided into 18 districts to each of which a clinic is assigned. In a number of these clinics medicines and treatment are furnished free; in others there is a small fee which is remitted for such cases as are too poor to pay. There are nurses connected with each of these clinics who follow the patients to their homes, give instructions and see that the conditions at their homes are made as favorable as possible both for the recovery of the patient and also for the protection of other members of the family.

A very interesting feature of this work is the establishment of ferry boat day camps for those who are not able to go out of the city. There are three "ferry boat" day camps: The Middleton, maintained by the Department of Health, anchored at the foot of East 91st Street. The Southfield, maintained by Bellevue Hospital, anchored at the foot of East 26th Street. The Westfield, maintained by Gouveneur Hospital, anchored at the foot of Jackson Street. The Red Cross conducts a day camp on the roof of Vanderbilt clinic. These day camps are open from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. The patients are given hot mid-day meals and two luncheons consisting of eggs with bread and butter.

These camps interested me especially because they maintain open air schools for children excluded from school on account of tuberculosis. I was told by good authority that

these open air schools were quite sufficient to accommodate all children excluded from the public schools on account of consumption. The Department of Education furnishes a teacher and frequently the teacher is herself a consumptive who may be benefited by the treatment.

The Division of Child Hygiene has made arrangements with various charitable institutions whereby they furnish glasses for those who find it absolutely impossible to procure them in any other way—it is the policy of the Division now to furnish anything unless in extreme cases. In some schools a fund has been established for this purpose. Teachers sometimes furnish the money with the understanding that it is to be returned in small installments. One of the leading opticians in New York City is furnishing glasses to school children at cost, making the price from one dollar to one dollar and a half per pair.

For ear, nose and throat troubles children are referred to the various hospitals and clinics in the city. The clinics of the medical schools are quite prominent in this work.

The greatest problem in remediable work is that of dental treatment. There is one free dental clinic for children maintained by private charity. The Vanderbilt clinic and Bellevue Hospital clinic furnish treatment at nominal cost, but these agencies are able to take care of not more than 1% of all children needing treatment and being too poor to pay for the same.

Some Problems the Division of Hygiene is Trying to Solve

In the first place the system lacks economy. At present the physician makes all diagnoses. The nurse acts only under his directions. She makes the routine examinations for contagious diseases but notes only symptoms and refers all cases to the physician for diagnosis. If she finds a case where she suspects a major contagious disease and the inspector does not happen to be present, which is nearly always the case, the pupil is excluded, the division is notified and an inspector is sent to make a diagnosis. If he finds a contagious disease he notifies the Division of Contagious Diseases who send a diagnostician to take charge of the case. Here are three persons involved in finding one case.

The Division is at present making an experiment with a view to giving the nurse greater responsibility and of relieving the inspector entirely of all contagious cases. That would mean that all morning inspection and all routine inspection for contagious diseases would be made by the nurse

and she would take the responsibility for exclusion. The inspector would simply examine for physical defects. This would call for double the number of nurses while the number of medical inspectors would not need to be increased in order to make the system much more efficient than it now is.

With this in view Dr. Baker has put two schools, consisting of about 4,000 pupils, in charge of one medical inspector and two nurses as an experiment.

The new plan would involve a system of instruction and training for nurses beyond their regular training. If the responsibility of the nurse is to be greater her training must be correspondingly greater and must become more or less specialized; this training, however, can be secured for the most part while the nurse is in active service. Dr. Baker is at present giving a course of lectures in Columbia University on Public Health Nursing and she expects to make this part of the work a prominent feature in the new plan.

Another difficulty standing in the way of the best results is the attitude which the average inspector takes towards his work. The medical inspector in New York City gives only a part of his time to medical inspection. He has a private practice which in most cases brings him a larger income than the salary he receives as an inspector; besides this the income from his private practice depends upon the energy which he puts into it while his income as an inspector is fixed. The result of this is that in some cases his work is mechanical and he does not always use the same good judgment and common sense in his school examinations as he does in his private practice.

The theoretical remedy for this is to make medical inspection a profession—to have from 20 to 30 medical inspectors who give their entire time to the work and receive an adequate graded salary ranging from $2,500 to $4,000. This would put life into the work. It would open up a very attractive career, similar to that of Bacteriologist. It would leave a man loose to seek even better opportunities in other places if he made good, and it would mean real efficient work.

General Results

The statistics produced to show the results of medical inspection are extremely misleading. Concrete evidence and individual cases are plentiful showing the beneficial results of the work but no set of statistics, no matter how accurate they may be, can ever give an adequate account of it. Besides this, there is in New York City an absolute lack of standard in statistics. This has partly grown out of the system of

supervision. The medical inspectors are directly responsible to a supervisor who visits each school under his supervision about once a week, re-examines some of the children already examined by the inspector. If the inspector fails to notice and record the slightest degree of tonsilar tissue he is likely to be reprimanded by the supervisor. As a result the statistics show too large a per cent of defects. This tends to discredit the work with parents, for too frequently the parent is urged to have physical defects corrected only to find upon consulting a specialist that it was a false alarm.

Dr. Baker defines a physical defect as one which gives noticeable symptoms. If a child is perfectly healthy and is found to have a little tonsilar tissue he is not defective. The child who is absolutely free from tonsilar and adenoid tissue is the exceptional child.

But even though this definition were accepted as a basis in practice by all inspectors there would still be a considerable personal variation, and if we add to this the variation in the degrees of defectiveness we shall see that it is impossible to get the exact bearing of physical defects on school progress. The results found by Dr. Ayres do not carry us far beyond what we already knew, namely, that there is a more or less constant relation between physical defects and school progress.

The most apparent results of medical inspection are shown in the case of minor contagious diseases. During the first half of the year 1909, 329,848 cases of eye and skin diseases were found, and during the second half of the same year only 121,667 cases were found, a decrease of over 60%. Besides his the cases found now are of a very mild type.

Similar results are shown with regard to pediculosis, and all concerned say that the personal appearance of the children, especially in congested districts, has improved remarkably. These results are accomplished largely through the home work of the nurse. If children were merely treated for contagious troubles at school and returned home only to be re-infected, not much would be accomplished; but the nurse on her visits to the home tactfully maneuvers by instruction and demonstration and by keeping everlastingly at it until the home is cleaned up. This gets at the root of the matter. The nurse also accomplishes a great deal in cases of bad nutrition by instructing the mothers as to the proper diet and the methods of preparation and storing of food.

During the year 1909 about 74% of the children examined were found to have one or more physical defects, and 87% of this number received some treatment, although much of the treatment was inadequate. Possibly about 50% received adequate treatment.

Something has been accomplished also in Dental Hygiene. A circular is published by the Division giving directions with regard to the care of teeth. In some cases children bring their tooth brushes and tooth powder to school and the nurse shows them how to proceed. Some of the teachers have also taken up this work and have regular "tooth brush drills."

Another matter which has been very much improved through the present system of medical inspection is the matter of attendance.

The Work of the Division of Child Hygiene During Summer Months

The energies of the Division during the summer months are principally directed to the reduction of infant mortality. In 1909 a conference was called by the Department of Health to which were invited all the agencies having to do with child welfare. Sixty agencies responded. The object of the conference was to organize these agencies so as to make the work as economical and efficient as possible. The literature in the form of circulars to be distributed was decided upon and the Department of Health undertook to furnish this for all the agencies. The city was divided into districts, each in charge of a nurse of the Division, for the purpose of purely educational work. This nurse made herself perfectly familiar with all the allied agencies in her district and referred cases to them according to their needs.

Educational centres and clinics were established throughout the city to the number of 54. Each clinic was in charge of a nurse and an inspector who gave demonstrations and personal instruction and advice in the proper care of babies.

The nurse in each district visited each baby in her district whose birth was reported by a midwife and also canvassed the tenement houses for babies under two years of age for the purpose of giving instruction in the proper feeding, clothing, bathing, and airing of the babies. Demonstrations were given where necessary, posters and pamphlets distributed. All sick babies found who were not under the care of a private physician were reported to the Department and an inspector was sent to care for them. Where necessary the nurse assisted in the care of the baby. The result of all this work was that the rate of infant mortality during the year was the lowest in the history of the city.

Another very interesting feature of this work is the "Little Mothers' League." Girls in the public schools over twelve years of age are organized under the direction of the Division of Child Hygiene. They hold regular meetings and receive

instruction weekly from the nurses and inspectors in the details of baby care. Instruction is given in proper infant feeding, care and preparation of milk, bathing, clothing, airing, and general hygiene. After attending for six weeks the members receive a badge. Each member also receives a certificate. During the summer of 1910 there were 71 leagues having a membership of 22,510.

The work for the coming summer will be somewhat modified.

An appropriation of $40,000 has been made for the purpose of establishing milk stations. Heretofore five milk depots and diet kitchens have been maintained by charitable institutions. Physicians were detailed by the Division to these depots, but for the coming summer the Division will maintain 15 stations of its own: 5 in Manhattan, 9 in Brooklyn, and 1 in the Bronx. Plain milk will be sold here, but the principal object of these stations is educational. A nurse and an assistant will be on duty daily from 8 to 12. A physician will be on duty twice a week from 9 to 12. Lectures, demonstrations, personal consultation and advice will be given.

The Division finds that the corps of nurses is quite insufficient to cover all the city and to properly care for the babies during the summer, so a demonstrational experiment will be made during the coming summer in the hope of securing thereby a larger force of nurses.

Only the congested districts will be canvassed. A nurse starts out in her district, finds 100 babies who need her attention and gives her entire time to this hundred. As soon as one case is dismissed another is taken on, but the number under her care is never to exceed one hundred.

THE OBSTINATE CHILD[1]

By Ellen Clune Buttenwieser, Ph. D.

Judge Ben. B. Lindsey, whose success with delinquent boys and girls has opened the eyes of the world to the rights and the wrongs and the divine possibilities of children, has stated in his introduction to Dr. Merrill's book, "Winning the Boy," a fundamental pedagogical principle which it would be well for us mothers and teachers to bear in mind as our guiding principle when dealing with our own children or pupils. He says:

"Every worker for childhood, whether the father in the home, the teacher in the school, the probation officer or the judge of the juvenile court—all are agreed that formation is the thing that we most need in dealing with the human character, and formation comes from within through the human heart and not from without through iron bars or any other methods of force and violence, whether nagging and fault-finding in the home or detention behind stone walls."

Formation comes from within, through the human heart, and not from without. Therefore Judge Lindsay says: "When you seek to win a boy go after his heart."

This principle that to reform a child, to win a child to right conduct, you must get at his heart and start there a right feeling and an impulse to right-doing is the principle that I have tried to bring out in this paper on the Obstinate Child. It would be the same were it the Untruthful Child, the Selfish Child or any other kind of imperfect child. It is what I mean when I say "the idea is not to fight the bad at all but to foster the good."

As to the obstinate child I believe that, primarily, there is no such thing as an obstinate child. It seems to me obstinacy may be compared with tuberculosis, which, physicians nowadays assure us, is not hereditary. They tell us that at most the child may be born with a tendency to the disease, that under favorable conditions this tendency becomes lessened, even altogether outgrown, but that under unfavorable conditions it increases until finally the weakened organs

[1]A paper read before various Mothers' Clubs of Cincinnati, Ohio.

fall a prey to the disease. Even so is it with obstinacy. The child may be born with a tendency to stubbornness, but whether this tendency develops or to what extent it develops depends on the determining influences and conditions of early life, the chief of these in the first few years being the mother or nurse.

The real question to be considered, therefore, is what attitude should be adopted by the mother toward the child in order to nullify any tendency to obstinacy that may exist. This question, it will be seen, involves the larger questions of growth and training, of obedience and punishments, of principles and methods, and to these I shall have to make constant reference in this paper.

As to the period of infancy, we mothers all know the feasibility and importance of cultivating good regular habits. Granted this is done, we may pass on with an easy conscience to the next period, in which the child steadily learns to accommodate himself to his environment. His will asserts itself. It becomes pitted against other wills, against other forces outside of himself. It is a painful sensation when the other forces are stronger than his will, but *so* he learns.

The importance of this period cannot be overestimated. It is the time for the most effective character building, and for this reason this period will engage our attention more than any other in the present study.

The child is led on gradually and unconsciously to self-control. Smooth and pleasant should be his path—there should be no conscious training, no conflicts, no scenes. Not force nor, on the other hand, coaxing, but simple maternal tact should be the mother's tool to bring about the results at which she aims, to bring them about without calling forth conscious opposition or any stubborn tendency in the child.

If some one says this *sounds* easy, I reply it is as easy as it sounds, provided one thing be kept in mind, that in these early years *the child's physical needs must come first.* With his physical needs satisfied, a healthy child should be an angel. See that the child is healthy and comfortable, that is, do not let him feel any discomfort from the need of food, sleep, rest. If he does, he is sure to be cross and hard to get along with. Above all, when a child is hungry, sleepy, sick or tired, *never train.* It is barbarous to try to put a sleepy, nervous child through a course of moral gymnastics; it is sure to have a pernicious effect on his character and will probably make him stubborn if he has any tendency that way.

Give him his food before he gets cross from the need of it, put him to bed before he is nervous and irritable from the need of sleep, take him in his happy frame of mind and let him

take his midday rest so that his nerves will be placid for the remainder of the day. Remember that sleep is a habit and so are nerves.

But if you do not manage to anticipate these physical needs and so to ward off outbreaks which seem to be just fits of temper but which are in reality the natural revolt of his nervous system, at least do not make the child suffer for your mistake. I have actually seen little children punished for what their mother considered fits of temper, when, in all justice, the mother should have been punished for not having prevented the cross spells. Of course the mother has not consciously neglected the child, she simply has not understood his needs, but why be impatient with him on account of her own limitations?

I have a little fellow at home, two and a half years old—we think him a very tractable child, but I would not answer for the results if we attempted to exhibit his docility when he happened to be very hungry.

It is a generally acknowledged fact that even grown people are influenced by their physical condition. Hunger and fatigue are very apt to make us irritable and those around us are very likely to notice the fact that we are irritable, even though they do not know the explanatory circumstance. *We* are cross, *they* retort, the general peace is disturbed, all because we missed our sleep the night before or ate a poor breakfast. We have often heard that man is much more complacent and yielding after a good dinner. So is woman and above all so is the poor child.

Suppose one's husband came home some evening very hungry and weary, and then suppose he had to wait for dinner until he was still hungrier and decidedly cross, and suppose, when it was at last ready, one said to him, "Now John dear, dinner is ready and everything is very nice, but you really look a little out of harmony. Do brighten up before you go into the dining-room. Say something nice to the cook just to show you cherish no hard feeling toward her for having kept you waiting, and recite that little sonnet "The world is too much with us" before you sit down to the table. Having supposed this much, I think it will be easy to suppose that if John has any tendency to be profane, it will assert itself very forcibly. Take John after a satisfactory meal and he is pliability itself. Why should we expect of little two-year-old John the self-control that the John of forty years' experience of life does not seem to have acquired?

When the imperious physical needs of the child are crying for satisfaction it is worse than useless to command, to implore or to reason.

It is unfortunate that parents will not see this. In all those distressing little scenes which have a physical basis, the promises and threats parents so naturally resort to are alike a waste of breath. Impatience and severity at such times, and a stupid determination to conquer, show a lack of understanding in the parent hardly pardonable, and call out obstinacy and all forms of bad temper in the child. Only common sense and good temper, more specifically patience and self-control, in the adult will tide over the breach till the cause of the trouble can be removed and the occasion thus brought to a happy outcome. Of what avail is it to push one's authority for the moment, if in so doing one but defeats one's end, which surely is to make the child disposed to good?

Those worthy to have charge of children must know when they may insist on good conduct and when they must close their eyes to bad. Let them remember that the golden time for training, for making the desired impression, for starting the good habit is when the child is physically comfortable, when there are no warring elements in his little system.

If the child is cross and you cannot see the reason, at least be patient. If he cannot be hungry or sleepy, there is always a possibility of some other discomfort, an incipient cold or sickness or indisposition of some sort. We grown-ups have these attacks of disinclination and ennui to fight against. Well, we cannot expect the little ones always to overcome them unaided. A little patience and tact on our side and the child has soon forgotten that he wasn't happy, although his face may still be wet with tears.

Let us begin when the child's idea of the world around him is forming, when he is learning his own power and his limitations, the things he may do or have and the things he may not. Normally a baby wants everything he sees, and cries for everything he wants. He would like to handle it and put it in his mouth and find out its possibilities. That is the way he learns.

Now there are some things which a child cannot possibly be allowed to have or to do, as the case may be, under any circumstances. There is nothing for it in these cases but peremptory denial and the child soon learns to be reconciled to the inevitable. Even as when he touches something hot and is burned, he gets over desiring to grasp anything you tell him is hot, so he soon understands if you tell him a thing is *dangerous* or it is something *not for babies*. The trouble comes in when the parent gets inconsistent. Circumstances alter cases to the parent's mind, and what was allowed yesterday perhaps for some reason cannot be allowed to-day, or

one parent denies something which the other is in the habit of allowing. The child naturally cannot understand this.

One day in a moment of desperation some one gives him a watch or a book or some other unsuitable thing to play with, to establish peace for the moment. Next day baby sees a watch or a book and naturally he wants it. The habit has been started. If he had never been allowed it, he might grasp the fact it was something he should not have, but he has been allowed it and it seems outrageous that he cannot have it now. In such cases, where reason is entirely on the side of the child, the only thing to do is to divert his mind by strategy from the point at issue. It is an easy thing to do; give him something else that he may have, take him somewhere, simply engage his attention. *Above all, do not have a prolonged contest.* This brings out the stubborn tendency. Do not dwell on the painful subject at all. Make him satisfied by all means, except of course by yielding up the bone of contention. He must forget that together with your seeming injustice.—Suppose this inconsistency happened to ourselves. We go to the library one day and are allowed to take out a book which perhaps is not usually let out. Next month we want the book again and are refused. We are up in arms at once. Why cannot we have it? We had it last time. We are going to see about this. If the attendant turns away our wrath with a soft answer, the matter ends amicably, but if her answer is not gentle, I very much fear that we feel pretty nearly as resentful and stubborn as the baby who has been the victim of our inconsistency.

Seeming inconsistency, of course, cannot be avoided. Things must be denied sometimes that are allowed at other times, but this should be done in such a way that the child does not become indignant and resentful. If the mother is not capricious and impatient the child very soon gets to understand that *she* has a reason for the refusal even though he cannot see it. And if she is reasonable and wise with him, he gets confidence in her and is satisfied when she says *no*. Submission to her will becomes a habit.

Even at this early age a child's individuality should be respected. Every baby has its own individuality. It manifests itself in a thousand little ways dear to the mother heart—in its little fancies and caprices. And why should a mother always force her preferences on the child? Why should she make him be satisfied with his teddy bear when he is going to bed, if he would rather have his sheep? And if two lead pencils afford him greater comfort than one, surely it should be a small matter to her.

I think mothers often are very obstinate about these little things and all the while think it is the child that is obstinate. Haven't you heard a mother say some time: "Now Lucy, come to bed, dear, put your nice new book away, and you 'll have it again in the morning?" And Lucy folds it tightly to her little heart: "O Mother, please let me take it to bed with me." And haven't you wished her mother would let her? But no, her mother must give Lucy a wholesome exercise in obedience. She makes a special point of it perhaps just because you happen to be present. What does Lucy do? That depends. Perhaps she goes off quietly to bed with a pathetic glance at the treasured book; perhaps she indulges in a crying spell, which her mother tells her is very naughty indeed; perhaps she follows some dim impulse inherited from her mother and kicks and screams for possession of the book and refuses to go to bed without it, entailing physical force and a great expenditure of nervous energy all round.

You never know what is going to appeal to the fancy of a child and give it pleasure. You may exhaust your imagination and your pocket book to find a lovely toy for your sister's baby, without eliciting any unusual sign of appreciation from the child, and you will watch with wonder his perverse delight over a worthless little pasteboard box that he rescues from the waste-basket, or a few empty spools tied to a string.

Only the other day my little boy spied a pair of his own wee stockings among a pile of things waiting to be ironed. He got them out with an extravagant demonstration of joy and clutched them to his breast as he was led off for his nap. He carried them about with him all the afternoon and took them to bed with him again that night. Next morning they had lost a good deal of their interest in his eyes and were ready for the wash again in mine. But they had furnished him with incalculable pleasure, and I cannot see that anything would have been gained had I sought to impose upon him my idea of the esthetic value and the real purpose of stockings.

Last winter, when he was ill (at the age of 20 months), and we racked our brains without much success to think of things that might take his fancy, there were two objects which rarely failed to stir up his interest. One was a little red box of shoe polish, which, fortunately, he spied before it had been opened, and the other was an oddly shaped bit of coal, reflecting prismatic colors, which one of the children had picked up in the street.

I am giving these illustrations because they prove to my mind two things, that children have their separate individualities which we should respect, not forcing ours upon them unnecessarily, and that children are very discerning. If

their experience is that you grant them everything reasonably possible, that is, that there is no arbitrariness, no willfulness in your decisions, they submit readily to your judgment when you refuse. *A generous reasonableness on the part of the parent makes for a willing obedience on the part of the child.*

To use my own baby in illustration again: After his illness (an attack of grip prolonged by measles, running ears and intestinal complications) he was put on the strictest sort of diet for a long long time—no milk, no fruits, no sweets. He got to share the general feeling in the family that if he were to partake of certain things it would be disastrous, though of course he had no idea of the nature of the disaster. His feeling was probably all the more potent, because it was undefined. He often put things to his lips enquiringly, or brought them to me to another room to see if he might have them, but put them down at once when told impressively that that would be bad for the baby. The only trouble we had was when, thinking sometimes there was an improvement in his condition, we tried certain things and then had to eliminate them again from his diet. He did not understand the inconsistency. I have known him to play for hours on the floor with six or eight blocks of sugar without ever attempting to put them to his lips, although he knew that they were sugar and that sugar was sweet. He had the feeling that he must not eat them, for his little mind had grasped the fact that this prohibition was a necessity, not a whim.

When the little child understands that its mother is reasonable and just and when the mother understands the nature and the needs of her child, I cannot think that obstinacy is possible. I think it is always an error in judgment on the part of the mother or nurse that calls out the tendency in the first place. Too often children at this formative age are left to the care of incompetent, I mean mentally incompetent nurses, who have neither the love nor the judgment to guide them.

Then the child has to get accustomed to the world, to the world as we shape it for him, and sometimes we make it very difficult for him to do this. We confuse him by our lack of system and by our intolerance. If there is one thing, or if there are a few things in a room, which a child shall not touch, he will learn that and will be punctilious about it, but if every object is too good to be handled by little fingers, it is clearly a human impossibility to keep out of trouble. Children will scrape the furniture and soil our books and break our breakables if we do not provide another place and another outlet for their energy. They must have a place not too elegant for everyday play and clothes not too beautiful to be

spoiled and things it won't hurt to play with. Some things they may have and some they may not have—they soon come to understand; but a reasonable amount of liberty and scope they must have or they will *not* understand. *If you are liberal in what you allow you may be strict about what you prohibit.*

I find that children very soon acquire an idea of possession, of individual ownership, what is theirs and what is sister's and what is father's, and my experience is that they are very reasonable about respecting the rights of others if their own rights are respected; but I think it takes children a good while to understand our system of valuation. To a child a cup is a cup. If he breaks one his feelings are the same whether it is a plain plebeian cup of unknown make or a highly prized specimen of Wedgwood or Crown Derby. That it was given to us by Mrs. X, who brought it to us from England, that all our friends admire it, that we could not possibly replace it, that we would rather lose almost anything than that precious cup, the child does not know, but how many a mother expresses this complication of her own feelings in her manner of dealing with the child for breaking the cup. This method relieves the mother's feelings for the time being, but it is bound to confuse and injure the child. It is better to prevent disaster by not putting temptation in his way. Finger-marks on an old magazine and on the book the fastidious Mrs. Y. has lent us arouse very different feelings in us, but they are just finger-marks to him in each case, that is, if he is conscious of the defacement at all.

The trouble is so many of our homes are not planned for children. Other considerations come first. The little ones are there on sufferance and are mostly in the way. Our *things* are endangered. We see the baby enter the room with dread and we wonder what mischief it will do next. That is n't the baby's fault. It is our fault for laying too great store by our *things* and taking too little heed of our baby's needs and rights.

I emphasize these *things* because I am coming now to another point on which I am going to appeal to the experience of every mother here. In nine cases out of ten when children are called naughty, are real principles at stake or simply minor considerations, our things probably? Are the children really naughty, or is it just an unfortunate though perfectly natural state of affairs in which they are involved to the detriment of our things or our feelings? How often are punishments administered because children are really guilty, and how often because their actions annoy or embarrass us, hurt our pride or try our patience?

The corrective and especially the educative value of punishment is greatly overestimated by many parents.—The baby spills the ink-bottle or hammers his toy-engine on the piano-stool if he gets a chance. Such things do happen even in well-regulated families. Your expression, your demeanor in general at the discovery will show him that is not allowed. Of course he will forget many times, but he does learn at last. The more patient you are, the sooner he learns. Whipping is barbaric. It will not prevent his forgetting, and, especially, if resorted to frequently it will prevent his drawing the proper conclusions. It is barbaric, I repeat, and altogether unnecessary.

But suppose it is a case of real naughtiness—if a child under three can be really naughty. Say the child is crossed and gets into a temper. The mother slaps it with the injunction to behave. Now the child promptly feels justified in its temper and, from whatever reason it cried at first, it now cries from its own hurt. It feels itself the injured one and the mother's lesson is lost. Perhaps it slaps back, kicks and struggles until overmastered by the stronger adult, who then (O Irony!) demands that the child say he is sorry, or that he wants to be good or that he will never do it again and so on. Naturally the child, whatever his age, is not in the mood to be sorry or to desire perfect goodness. Has the mother done anything to make him feel penitent?

If a boy in anger provokes another boy and the latter grabs him and throws him down and gives him a sound threshing, this latter boy may make the first say he has had enough before he lets him go, but he will not ask him to say he is sorry, or to say he will never do it again. He knows very well he is not sorry—he knows, moreover, that he will have to be on his guard, for if that boy ever gets a chance he is going to get even for that beating. Why cannot mothers be as sensible as these boys?

Of course, children may not resent parental chastisement as much as punishment from their equals, but they are *not sorry*. They should not, in all reason, be expected to be penitent after a beating. If a mother demands the child's promise to be good, after having stirred up all the evil in him, it is because she is stubborn and thinks of her own parental dignity and rights. Plenty of children profess sorrow promptly—fear, cowardice may make them do so, and very often the poor children have forgotten what it is all about long before the scene is over—they are spent and unhappy and glad to make peace with their mother, who, after all, is their great refuge in life. But the obstinate child, perhaps, cannot and will not say that he is sorry. Poor little mites, I have seen

them whipped and locked in closets and humiliated in all sorts of ways, the while their mother believed she was overcoming their obstinacy. I do not know how it turns out in the end, whether the children say they are sorry or not, but I know they have long forgotten what their original crime was and a very bad habit has been started. Next time, the child behaves badly again, the mother whips (habit thus asserting itself in both), and the poor little mother says to her neighbor: "I don't know what to do with Willie, I don't see where he got his obstinacy.—He did n't get it from my side of the family I know."

What should Willie's mother do when he slaps at her in his temper? Certainly make Willie realize that he has done a very bad thing, make him feel sorry. It is futile to say, "I 'll show you, sir, whether you can slap at your mother or not." A mother certainly should be superior to her baby. A little patience and tact work wonders. Willie has a very loving little heart for all he has been so naughty and threatens to be so obstinate. And if he sees that he has hurt his mother, that she is the injured one and not himself, that he has made her feel bad (not mad), he is inclined to be very much sobered and rather shocked at himself. If she plays her rôle skilfully the chances are that Willie is very sorry and anxious to be reconciled.

Corporal punishment becomes a habit in parents. They do not realize to what an extent. The muscles of the arm are instinctively in exercise before they have been consciously directed by the will. And as the muscular prompting becomes a habit in the parent, so does the instinctive shrinking from the blow become a habit in the child. A mother who had abandoned corporal punishment with her two little girls told me the determining reason was that she had noticed them shrink frequently from her movements as if dodging a blow, even when there was no question of punishment or even displeasure.

Punishment is not only unjust but positively harmful if it stirs up either resentment and obstinacy, or fear and shrinking. This latter result, while not so trying to the parents as obstinacy, is even more harmful to the child's character.

I have known cases where corporal punishment was administered freely, yet the children felt no resentment, only grief; for the mother made them feel that she was acting from love. But in these cases corporal punishment is clearly unnecessary, for if their mother's love is so potent when accompanied by chastisement, it would be still more potent without. Now I know whereof I speak. I grieve to say that I punished my first two children when they were little. I thought it necessary for their good, and it became a habit to

meet certain occurrences in a certain way. Two later children, one of whom is now seven, the other two and a half, I have never chastised. There has never been any necessity. There was n't with the others. These later ones have been obedient, anxious to please, grieved at their little misconducts; they are tractable and responsible for their age and have a very sensitive feeling in regard to right and wrong.

I think we parents are too exacting with our children. (Naturally, I have no reference in this paper to those blindly indulgent parents who spoil their children—they seem to me hopeless cases.) We expect them to be much more perfect and sweet-tempered and self-controlled than we ever shall be ourselves, even with our stronger wills, stronger motives and stronger reasoning power. We always see the room for improvement in them, and sometimes do not see the eager intention and loving good-will behind the poor effort. The people who get the best results from us are not those who are always fighting our faults, rather those who without straining or complaining call forth from us better things than we believed ourselves capable of. A child has a right to expect this generous attitude from his mother. *She* should be large enough to understand. If to err is human in the case of grown people, surely, surely, it is true of little children. It should not always be "I cannot love you Tommy when you are so selfish and naughty. Go and sit in a corner till you can be good." Sometimes to take Tommy silently on her lap in the rocking-chair with the little perverse head where he feels he has n't deserved it should be is enough to make Tommy fairly bristle with good intentions, and sometimes a hopeful reference to next time when he will be good is more efficacious than dwelling on the ignominious failure of the present. This is especially true of older children. If we were always dealt with strictly according to our deserts, I fear we would be paralyzed by discouragement half the time. There never was a greater truth put into two words than "Noblesse Oblige."

If it is important that a child should not be too rigidly censured even when it has been sadly at fault, it is of still greater importance that it should not be made to feel the mother's dissatisfaction when it has simply fallen short of her ideal. Elizabeth may have replied to Mrs. A's enquiries, not untruthfully, O no, on the contrary, with a distressing candor and veracity. Her mother winces when she thinks of Mrs. A's amusement and she reprimands the innocent Elizabeth for not having answered more astutely. Short-sighted mother, "thus blindly with her blessedness at strife," who does not see that when Elizabeth has acquired all this worldly wisdom, her little child will be gone!

Elizabeth's mother is like the rest of us. We are annoyed by our children's spontaneity, by their restlessness characteristic of all childhood, by a thousand little actions that are the natural result of their personality but that jar perhaps on ours. We find fault with their mistakes as with their willful faults, we show dissatisfaction because they have not spoken or acted just as our ideal would have done. We have the unfortunate idea that we have to mould their characters according to our ideas, instead of *giving them favorable conditions and then letting them grow according to the promise that is in them.* Burbank's idea is right; the child is *the human plant.* If we do not see the promise we run the risk of blighting it.

When our children go up to the art-room with their laborious but grotesque little drawings, does the teacher criticise these strictly according to their artistic merits? Does she say, "Do you mean this for an engine and train of cars, Louise? It looks like a fence," or "Where is your palace of the King, Joseph? These few crooked little strokes?" No, the teacher sees the child's idea, she sees the promise and she fosters it till some day there is a worthy fulfillment. If she judged the children's efforts by her artistic ideal of a palace or a locomotive, their joy would be frozen, the promise smothered, and, instead of going up with eager enthusiasm to their half hour in art, they would accept it as a weary feature in the school routine.

I have pointed out that the child's environment on which so much depends is mainly the attitude of his parents and teachers, but often unfortunately his environment is very mixed, including aunts and uncles and cousins and other interested friends. A number of people all trying to train a child is confusing and usually disastrous. It is hard enough for a child to live up to his mother's ideal, but if he has to satisfy the ideal of a whole regiment of relatives, he is not to be envied. George Eliot has given us in Maggie Tulliver a good picture of a child who by nature was warm-hearted and inclined to good, but who had the bitter consciousness throughout her childhood that her mother and aunts thought her willful, obstinate and perverse, a discredit to the Dodsons, while her more commonplace cousin was the pride of the family.

There is nothing that hurts children so much, and I say this for teachers as well as for mothers, as a poor opinion of them, a lack of confidence in them. Even if they have forfeited your good opinion they must never feel that you think their case hopeless.

Encouragement, I do not mean flattery, but true discerning encouragement, has never hurt any one, while fault-finding and distrust have taken the heart out of countless millions,

big and little. There is nothing like holding up to children an ideal of themselves. Unconsciously they imitate it. With very young children simple little stories are most efficacious; little A B C stories that may be manufactured at a moment's notice to fill the moment's need, with a moral so transparent and an application so direct that they may even tax the gravity of the narrator. Needless to say, no person of common sense will ever resort to a sensational or scare story to effect good conduct in a young child. If a stroke of the finger makes the necessary impression, it were unwise, to say the least, to use a sledge hammer. When the temptation to be untruthful, disobedient, or naughty in any specific way can be foreseen by the mother, a story just fitting the occasion in which the little hero or heroine, of course, does the right thing, will serve to steer the guileless child into the path of rectitude. Undoubtedly *it is better to work things so that the child will consciously choose the right than to impress him with his wickedness after he has chosen the wrong.* I repeat there is nothing like holding up to children an ideal of themselves. It is simply suggestion, but it is a pleasanter and a surer method of conquering children than by breaking their wills by conflict and force. I believe *the idea is not to fight the bad at all but to foster the good.*

In all this the teacher is at first somewhat handicapped. When the child comes under her influence some habits have become already fixed, and if his mother's attitude has not been wise, these habits may prove very trying to the teacher.

The teacher is further handicapped in that the child and his peculiar temperament are at first strange to her, and in that the first encounter, in fact usually every encounter, between her and the pupil is in the presence of the whole class. We all know a surer appeal can be made and a surer response obtained, if we have the boy or girl alone. The presence of others embarrasses and the obstinate child becomes still more hopelessly obstinate in the presence of onlookers. But a great deal depends on the teacher's personality, on her attitude, conscious or unconscious, to the child in question. It is a familiar fact that a pupil shows stubbornness toward one teacher and not toward another. In such a case should not the teacher ask herself if it is not somewhat her fault as well as the child's? Does she understand his temperament sufficiently, his needs? Does she not require too much? The teacher is a good deal like the mother. She expects so much of the children. She expects them to conform to a special ideal which she carries in her own mind. She does not always realize how much this demands of certain children,

since what is easy for some may be hard for others, nor does she always realize how really severe certain trifling little punishments may be for some one child. The exception is always harder to deal with than the rule.

But whether the teacher has failed in her judgments or not, she should make it an unbending rule to avoid encounters with children that show an inclination to stubbornness, to shun issues which start the habit, as she would the plague. For once a child has shown obstinacy toward his teacher, it is of course, easier for him to show it a second time, and it is harder for her to meet it.

In truth, the wise teacher will know, obstinacy cannot be met. It must be anticipated, headed off A child that is simply willful and disobedient may be reasoned with or otherwise led to obey, but in the case of a really obstinate child, as I said before in another connection, it is useless to command, to implore or to reason. The only thing to do is to disarm him by strategy, to transform his conscious disinclination to do what you say into a subtle compulsion to do what you wish. If you have that rare combination of wisdom and patience necessary for this, the obstinate child will be as clay in your hands.

THE STUDY OF A CITY IN THE SCHOOLS OF THAT CITY

By John Cotton Dana

There are many plans for improving the government of cities; the best is that which simply asks that the city's citizens be educated. Referendum, initiative, recall, charter revision, commission government, new laws, civic leagues, reform movements and all the many other plans for making our cities more wisely and more honestly governed, and therefore cleaner, more healthful, more beautiful, and more desirable for business and more attractive as homes—these may help a little, temporarily, here and there; but genuine and permanent improvement can come only through improvement in the character and intelligence of the citizens. Golden conduct cannot come from leaden instincts, says the philosopher, and the wayfaring man sees that the philosopher is right.

The educational process is slow. A city's educational work can be as good as the people of the city wish it to be, and no better; and the people of a city can wish only for that kind of education and will demand only that kind and will tolerate only that kind which conforms to their own outlook, ability and prejudice. The stream cannot rise above its fountain; and the education of a city like the government of a city is just what the ability of its people entitles them to. The elders having but little wisdom can pass on but little to the next generation.

There are a few things, however, in which the elders can make their children wiser than themselves. On one of these things the public schools and the public library of Newark, N. J., have spent much time and energy in recent years. I refer to the study of their own city by the children of the city in the schools of the city. Newark is the first city in this country, so far as I know, in which this study has been taken taken up broadly and seriously, with a quite definite purpose and with quite elaborate and carefully designed apparatus.

The story of it is briefly as follows:

The library, about eight years ago, sought for literature interesting to young people on the history, population, government, industries and other features of Newark. Such material

was needed to lend to young visitors to the children's room. Very little was found, and that little was scattered and fragmentary. All that was found was addressed to adults, not to young people. Finally the library decided to publish a little local material of its own. Mr. F. J. Urquhart, one of the editors of the Newark Sunday Call, was asked to write three short stories of Newark's origin and development and these the library issued in small pamphlets, one each winter, as they were prepared. They were lent to young people; were given or lent to teachers, single copies or in packages of 25, for use as readers; and were sold at 5 cents each.

In the three years during which these three pamphlets were being published, partly on account of their publication and use, partly on account of the continued promotion of the subject by the library, chiefly perhaps on account of that growth in civic pride which is now going on in most cities, interest in Newark study in the schools steadily increased. In the curriculum here and there were placed, for the most part at the suggestion of the library, instructions and suggestions to teachers about Newark geography, history, industries and institutions as topics for study, for essays and talks. School work upon these topics led many more children than before to come to the library for Newark information.

No city in the country seems to be equipped with such statements of its own life and varied activities as will interest or instruct its young people. Certainly Newark is not. Newark information in this line was sought for by the library in newspapers, books, city reports and other sources; was gathered, clipped, summarized, re-written, classified and made easily accessible. Short accounts were compiled of Streets, Parks, Trees, Water Supply, Sewage, Health Department, Fire Department, Police Department, Schools, Hospitals, and many other factors and aspects of the city's life. These "Newark Study" stories, usually between 500 and 1,200 words in length, were duplicated to the extent of hundreds of copies and were lent or given to teachers and children on request.

Pictures were gathered of noteworthy Newark citizens, of historic events and scenes, historic houses, public buildings, notable trees, parks, streets, and these with maps old and new and many other things were mounted on cards of uniform size, classified and arranged for easy examination. These pictures also were lent on request to teachers and pupils.

Each year on Newark Day, May 17, a modest exhibit of all kinds of print and pictures, etc., about Newark was installed in the library and was usually visited by several thousand children, often with their teachers.

This plan for making good citizens by giving the children a knowledge of their city and a consequent interest in it met with approval wherever and whenever it was discussed. It appealed especially to business men, as was shown by the action of the City's Board of Trade concerning it. That body not only heartily endorsed the work; but also paid for printing an extra thousand for free distribution of one of the history pamphlets.

About two years ago the Board of Education asked the author of the three little pamphlets, published by the library, on the Story of Newark, called respectively "Early Days," "Awakening" and "Progress," to revise them, cast them into one continuous narrative and publish them in one volume, with maps, illustrations and index. Mr. Urquhart did this, and the volume appeared in attractive form under the title, "A Short History of Newark." In accordance with an agreement entered into before publication the Board of Education purchased at once 2,500 copies of this book, and later 2,500 more, and placed it on its approved list. This meant that any teacher interested in the subject, either on her own motion or at the suggestion of her principal, who wished to use the book as a reader or as a supplement to her work in American history, could secure as many copies as she needed.

Not long after this the Board of Education called for a meeting in the public library of teachers, principals and citizens interested in promoting good citizenship. At this meeting, maps, charts, pictures, diagrams, etc., were shown on the walls, and leaflets, notes and books were distributed for examination, all suggesting ways and means of displaying teaching and using as a basis of talks, readings and essays, some of the more interesting and important facts about the city.

Soon after this meeting the Board of Education ordered made a hundred large maps of the city for school use. These are more than nine feet square, and are mounted on rollers. They show streets, parks, public buildings, railroads, trolley lines, ward boundaries and many other things all distinguished by appropriate marks and colors. They can be read easily across a school-room. I believe no city in the country has ever before caused to be made and put before its children an adequate map of the place in which they live. Maps of North America, Asia, Europe, the World, are common enough; and occasionally one finds in a school an antiquated map of one's own state. But a large, accurate, complete and interesting map of one's own city—this is something unknown in the equipment of a city's schools.

While these maps were being made,—and they were drawn and colored for the one purpose of making their town's area, form, character, etc., interesting and easily understood by the young—another small map was also designed. This is about twelve inches square, shows only a few of the streets, only one or two of the railroads and only a suggestion here and there of other details. It is in black only, is printed on thin writing paper, is issued in thousands of copies and is put up in pads of 100 for easy handling. This map is used for class work. The teacher asks her pupils, each having a copy of this skeleton map, to add to it such details as she may select to form any special lesson:—railroads, trolley lines, school houses, parks, hospitals, fire-houses, etc. They will thus furnish the basis for exercises in drawing, map making, geography and other studies, all with direct relation to the city of which they are to become citizens.

Meanwhile the superintendent of schools and his assistant were revising those parts of the course of study which could be most easily made to include references to the city, especially those having to do with Public Hygiene, Civics, History and Geography. Included in these are brief discussions of many subjects like tuberculosis, pure milk, a safe and sane fourth of July, water supply, sewage disposal and paving and care of streets, designed to suggest to the teachers the lines their work may take, topics which pupils may look up in the library and consider in brief compositions. They include also, and special emphasis is laid upon these, suggestions of things, which may be done by the pupils themselves in helping to take care of their own city, either individually or in organized groups, such as care of trees, protection of birds, and cleaning of the school yard. It is essential, of course, not only that the children know how a city may be made more beautiful and attractive, but also that they apply some of this knowledge to useful ends.

This "Newark and the City Arts" portion of the course of study of the schools is published complete in one volume. It is also issued in several parts, each containing so much of the course as has to do with a particular grade, that each teacher may have her Newark work all in one group.

In uniform style with the course of study are published about forty different leaflets of one to eight pages each. These are for the use of pupils as well as teachers. They are largely revisions of the multigraphed sheets already alluded to as having been compiled or copied and issued by the library several years ago. They now appear printed in attractive form.

They cover the following among many other subjects: Hospitals, Public Buildings, Streets, Industries, Water Supply,

Free Public Library, Police Department, Public health, Regulation of explosives Ordinance, Street lighting Ordinances, Littering streets Ordinance, Shade Tree Ordinances.

These bear two series of page numbers, that for each leaflet and that for the entire series of which each forms a part. For teacher's desk use they will be bound in one volume; for use by the pupils as reading lessons or in studying special topics they appear singly and are printed in large quantities. They are written in plain and simple language, and of course do not include many details.

An index to the course of study and the leaflets and a guide to sources of information, compiled by the library, completes the printed material now in use. This was formed by taking from the course of study, from the leaflets and from the simpler books on Newark history, city life and public hygiene all words and phrases representing topics which can well be used by teachers as subjects of study, talk and discussion, as questions for debate and as subjects for inquiry at the library and for brief compositions. These words and phrases number more than 250. A few typical ones are: Defectives and dependents; Diphtheria and antitoxin, see Epidemics; Dispensaries; Education, cost of to State; Elections; Excise Commission; Expectoration; Explosives; Factories; Franchises; Garbage, Disposal of, see Waste.

After each of these topics, as it appears in the list, is given a list of references to sources of information thereon. These sources include the course of study itself, the subsidiary leaflets, the maps of the city, the reports of the city's many deparments and the books, pamphlets, charts, diagrams and pictures found in the public library.

Summarizing these helps to the study of Newark and the City Arts by the children of the city they are:

1. Formal courses of study with definite instructions as to work in the several grades in Newark History, Civil Government, Geography, and Public Hygiene.
2. An index to this course and to allied material.
3. References in this index to sources of information and suggestions on all Newark topics.
4. Leaflets descriptive of Newark's History, Population, Institutions, Laws and Customs, etc.
5. A Short History of Newark.
6. Books, Reports, Pamphlets, Clippings and Pictures relating to Newark in the Public Library.

In the past year this study of the city has been taken up in the high school. For this work tentative courses have been made adapted to pupils of high school age and such topics as the City Street and the Commission form of Government

have been considered. Thus these courses will ultimately cover all of the four high school years and will supplement and carry on the work in the lower grades.

The very simple theory on which the work described has been laid out and carried on may be briefly summarized thus:

To the making of the good citizen go two fundamentals, intelligence and sympathy. The intelligence should be as broad and deep as each individual's capacity and opportunity permit him to make it. It may cover as many other subjects of every conceivable kind as the taste and circumstances of each individual may dictate; one subject it must cover if it is to be of service in making of its possessors a good citizen, and that subject is the citizen's own village, town or city, his own country and his own state. Confining the argument to city citizenship only, it is evident that that knowledge of his own city which forms one of the fundamentals of good citizenship includes in its objects much more than is included in the term civics or government. Indeed, knowledge of city government, while very desirable in a citizen, is a far less essential element in fashioning one into a good citizen than knowledge of the city's people, their intelligence, character and tendencies; its working conditions, of climate, topography, soil, and relation to other communities; its resources in stored wealth, in water power, lines of communications, houses, schools, factories, shops and public buildings; its improvements in water supply, sewage system, paving, parks and trees; its objects of interest and attraction, natural, artificial and historic; its self-supporting and elevating abilities acquired through the efficiency of its governmental and voluntary organizations, like fire departments, police departments, health departments, hospitals, churches, banks, libraries, museums, and all civic, social, charitable and benevolent institutions.

It seems needless to carry the enumeration further. It is evident enough that some acquaintance with these objects, movements and creations within one's own city is absolutely essential to one who would practice the art of citizenship wisely. Without such knowledge one cannot even cast his ballot intelligently once each year, and, what is of vastly more importance, cannot so conduct himself, hour by hour and day by day the whole year through, as to make his life helpful to his fellows.

I say this is evident enough, and I am sure most persons will agree with me, and I am also sure that most persons will be surprised to learn that not in any village, town or city of this country is this self-evident fact, about the fundamental importance in making good citizens of knowledge of one's own

community, recognized in more than the slightest degree in the work of the public schools.

Of knowledge of alien things there is abundant mention and on the acquisition of that knowledge there is ceaseless insistence; but insistence on acquaintance with one's own community—such acquaintance as I have suggested with such facts as I have mentioned,—of this there is but the briefest mention and that only here and there.

Not only is it true that knowledge of facts about one's city is essential to good citizenship, it is also true that these facts furnish some of the best possible material on which to train the young.

History, geography, commercial geography, civil government, public hygiene, literature, composition, climate, geology, natural history and many other subjects may be made more valuable, more impressive, more easily understood and more attractive if concrete illustrations for them are found in one's own city.

Again it seems unnecessary to labor the point. At the schoolroom door are found the things which can and should illustrate the text-books on many subjects. It is said that thus to use one's own environment as a tool in formal discipline calls for two things, neither of which is at hand, to wit, elaborate text-books written to that environment and teachers able to use both book and environment; the answer is that quite a wide use of one's own city as a basis of much elementary educational work does not call for either of these things, as the experience of Newark shows.

The experience of Newark has not yet been sufficient to prove that familiar knowledge of the character and daily life of one's own city, and daily practice in making that character better and that life cleaner and more wholesome, are of all knowledges and all habits the most effective in making good citizens. But the mere statement of the theory seems to make it worth while to test it thoroughly.

MOVING PICTURES AS A FACTOR IN EDUCATION

By Pierce J. Fleming, A. M.

In looking back at the progress that education, in its widest sense, has made in the history of the world, one can but be strongly impressed with the mighty part the picture has played in this advancement. In the early days the rude pictures drawn upon soft stone and allowed to harden into the "hieroglyphics" became the historics of the times, and such an inestimable value did they possess that without them, even now, we should be unable to record the world's history and its advancement. That the picture, whether scratched in Assyrian clay or cut into Egyptian stone, served well its worthy and noble purpose is readily admitted by historians, anthropologists, philologists, ethnologists and explorers the world over. In mediæval times the picture assumed an important part in the world's development, sometimes supplementing and at other times being supplemented by the library. Many of the leading incidents of the Bible have been painted and are exhibited in the picture galleries of the world. Should, therefore, all the books and writings in the world be destroyed, many of these incidents could be reproduced for us from paintings and sculpture. Much of the history of many nations is found in the illustrative as well as in the written records. The living picture with its life portrayals and accurate descriptions is the marvel of all these things.

The Cinematograph is a development of the zoetrope, or "Wheel of Life," described by W. G. Horner about 1833, which consists of a hollow cylinder turning on a vertical axis and having its surface pierced with a number of slots. Round the interior is arranged a series of pictures representing successive stages of such a subject as a horse galloping, and when this cylinder is made to rotate an observer looking through one of the slots sees the horse apparently in motion. The pictures were first drawn by hand, but afterwards photography was applied to their production. The modern Cinematograph was made possible by the invention of the celluloid roll film, on which the serial pictures are impressed by instantaneous photography, a long sensitized film being moved across the focal plane of a camera and exposed intermittently. For an hour's exhibition 50,000 to 165,000 pictures are needed. In order to regulate the feed in the lantern a hole is punched

in the film for each picture. The dancing and vibrating of the picture in an unpleasant manner is due in a great measure to inaccuracy in the placing of these holes or to the wearing out of them.

In modern times the impulse toward the better and more rapid cognition of a thing is evidently what all educators are striving to develop and satisfy. Regarding this Prof. Wm. James in his "Talks to teachers on Psychology" says, "Novelties in the way of sensible objects, especially if their sensational quality is bright, vivid, startling, invariably arrest the attention of the young and hold it until the desire to know more about the object is assuaged." Again, Dr. Wm. H. Burnham lecturing on Education speaks of the crying need for more action, or at least the representation of it, and less teaching. Surely then, if this be true, no one can doubt the advantage of the moving picture method with its bright, vivid, novel, startling and interesting way of presenting things. Even in the theatres, when one considers that at least four millions of people visit these places daily and remain at least an hour, what a tremendous opportunity there is for an educational as well as a moral uplift.

The Cinematograph with its compelling reality, its unlimited sources from which to draw subject matter, and the remarkable progress which its manufacturers have made in overcoming the defects in its mechanism, represents to-day the most highly evolved instruction-giving instrument for both the many and the few that the present century has produced. When exhibited under the direct supervision of one whose ability as an educator is recognized, it is difficult to prophesy the vast amount of actual good that can be accomplished. J. E. Wallace Wallin, *Pedagogical Seminary*, June, 1910, in discussing the Psychology of the moving picture craze, says: "Human culture must utilize not suppress native capacities, instinctive tendencies, inherited nervous organisms. . . . . It would thus appear that one of the sovereign remedies for inattention and educational waste is to appeal to instinctive interests or to the hereditary forms of attention."

Now comes the question as to how we can stimulate these interests. We must use the stimuli which through the ages have played an important part, the stimuli without which the race could not have developed. What are these stimuli? They are the representations of living things rather than dead, of moving things rather than static things; they are the successive phases of some common phenomenon of nature rather than the bare picture of some one particular phase of it; they are the actual representations of many of the things we read and hear about which by their novelty will

attract the attention, and, with that desire so common to all of us and especially the young to see the conclusion of a series of events, will hold the attention to a considerable length of time. It was by attention to the first of these that primitive man protected himself and those dependent on him from his enemies, and it is by the strictest attention to the second of these that we of to-day are making such rapid strides in the acquisition of a more complete knowledge of nature and its workings. The parent or teacher, therefore, should appeal to the instinctive attention and thus work with nature; for by so doing one takes advantage of a vast hereditary impetus; and the potentiality of hereditary interests and involuntary attention so far surpass the potentiality of acquired interests and voluntary attention in the young child that not to use this in the accomplishing of educational ends would be to refuse to accept a priceless gift from nature.

This compelling fascination of the moving picture is due to the fact that it is based on the dynamics of spontaneous attention, the laws that govern our inherited tendencies to attend. For this reason then, the Cinematograph by presenting different processes or pictures in motion rouses in us the instinctive tendency to attend to moving things. It is a fact that a great many times, on account of the very life-like movements performed by the characters in the pictures, that the pictures cease to be illustrations, and are actually changed, especially in the case of those of a more visual type, into animate existences. Exclamations of horror by the observers as a person falling from a building appears to be about to strike the ground, the attempt to shrink from an approaching animal, and various other instances are convincing proofs of this. There is a case reported from Ann Harbor, Michigan, of a small boy, with an air rifle, shooting at a bird portrayed on the screen. This appeal of the Cinematograph to the instinctive tendencies is in a great measure the principal reason why it is so vastly superior to the Stereopticon. The limitation of the Stereopticon to the presentation of static things places it henceforth among the decadent media of instruction. In the case of an automatic pistol the comparison is seen very readily. The Stereopticon is able to present but a very few phases of the mechanism, while the moving picture machine with exposures lasting one forty-two thousandth of a second can photograph in less than one-tenth of one second four hundred successive phases of the firing mechanism of the pistol. All of these can be presented at a uniform rate of speed, so that each and every minute detail can be distinguished very readily.

The Cinematograph also takes advantage of other instinctive interests. The constantly recurring sharp contrasts in the

film as regards color, size and other characteristics, and the introduction of the unusual, the comic, the bizarre, etc., furnish the foundation of appeal to our instinctive desire for something new, something different. Again, the facility with which a scene, unparalleled in actual life and with so unexpected a denouement, can be made and projected, shows how the moving picture can, in a great measure, utilize the forces of attention and curiosity. Is it anything to be wondered at therefore that millions daily sit entranced before the cinematographic screen when their attention, with hardly an effort on their part, is not only attracted but even held for a comparatively long time?

Another very commendable and until a short while ago unheard of feature of the moving picture is the possibility it presents for the popularizing of instruction in subjects vital to all of us and regarding which little or no reading matter is available. In a great many places, notably Chicago and New York, this feature of the moving picture is being thoroughly tested and up to the present gives every indication of becoming a permanent part of the programme wherever used.

Geo. L. Voorhies, Secretary-Treasurer of the Chicago Principals' Club, District No. 4, sends the following account of the use of moving pictures in the schools there:

"The Board of Education has established nine social centres in the public schools and as a part of the same. They are open two evenings a week and are available for the parents as well as the children. These centres offer the following programme of instruction and entertainment:

"Reading rooms, music, both vocal and instrumental, gymnasium work, parlor games, amateur dramatics, dancing and the motion picture lecture.

"In regard to the scope of the moving picture work, I believe it should be entertaining as well as instructive, and should appeal to the various sentiments of interest, wonder, humor and pathos."

The following is a programme that Mr. Voorhies, with the co-operation of others in the same field, has mapped out:

Industrials: (a) Food: *e. g.*, Wheat; harvesting, milling, baking.
(b) Clothing: *e. g.*, Cotton; picking, ginning, weaving.
(c) Shelter: Lumber; logging, milling, building.
(d) Transportation: Railroads; surveying, building, running.

Nature: (a) Plant growth: Seed, plant, flower, fruit.
(b) Animals: Egg, embryo, infant, adult, adult activities; fish hatcheries, ostrich farms, etc.
(c) Minerals: *e. g.*, Iron mines, smelting, steel mills.

Travels: (a) Scenic country from train.
(b) Ocean life on steamer, coast and train, river scenery from steamer, *e. g.*, Hudson, Rhine.
(c) Views from aeroplanes and other odd modes of travel.
(d) Touring: Alps, canyons, Yellowstone, Congo.

Art: (a) Panoramic trips through noted museums, parks, cities.
(b) Construction of paintings, sculptures, tapestries, buildings.

Anniversaries: (a) Parades, coronations, Mardi Gras, Veiled Prophet.

Drama: (a) Classic plays by noted casts, extravaganzas.

Athletic: (a) Field sports, ball games, rowing, races, drills, exercises.

On some of these subjects films are already available; on others they can be manufactured.

That the manufacturers of moving films are taking advantage of the educational possibilities of moving pictures is evidenced by the "Free Educational Exhibit of Animated Photography" given some time ago by one of the supply houses in Cleveland for the benefit especially of the educators of the public and private schools there. Views were exhibited of the leather industry, wild birds in their haunts, the formation of drops of water, various chemical processes, fruit growing and the like. All present were enthusiastic in their approval of the moving picture as an educational aid.

Prof. Frederick K. Starr, Chicago University, expresses his appreciation of the educational advantages to be derived from the moving picture in the following passage:

"I have seen Niagara thunder over her gorge in the noblest frenzy ever beheld by men; I have watched a Queensland river under the white light of an Australasian moon go whirling and swirling through strange islands, lurking with bandicoot and kangaroo; I have watched an English railroad train draw into a station, take on its passengers and then chug away with its stubby little engine through the Yorkshire dells,past old Norman abbeys, silhouetted against the sky line, while a cluster of century-aged cottages loomed up in the valley below, through which a yokel drove his flock of Southdowns; I have beheld fat old Rajahs with the price of a thousand lives bejeweled in their monster turbans and the price of a thousand deaths sewn in their royal nightshirts as they indolently swayed in golden howdahs, borne upon the backs of grunting elephants; I saw a runaway horse play battledoor and shuttlecock with the citizens and traffic of a little Italian town whose streets had not known so much commotion since the sailing of Columbus; I know how the Chinaman lives, and I have been

through the homes of the Japanese; I have marveled at the daring of Alpine tobogganists and admired the wonderful skill of Norwegian ski-jumpers; I have seen armies upon the battlefield and their return in triumph; I have looked upon weird dances and outlandish frolics in every quarter of the globe, and I didn't have to leave Chicago for a moment. No books have taught me all these wonderful things; no lecturer has pictured them; I simply dropped into a Moving Picture theatre at various moments of leisure and, at the total cost for all the visits of perhaps two performances of a musical show, I have learned more than a traveler could see at the cost of thousands of dollars and years of journey. Neither you nor I fully realize what the moving picture has meant to us, and what it is going to mean. We 're living at a mile-a-second gait in the swiftest epoch of the world's progress, in the age of incredibilities come true. The talking machine has canned the great voices and master melodies of our time, but the moving picture machine has done more,—it is making for us volumes of history and action; it is not only the greatest impulse of entertainment, but the mightiest force of instruction. We of to-day take so much for granted; we are so thoroughly spoiled by our multiple luxuries that we do not bestow more than a passing thought upon our advantages, because the moving picture machine is an advantage, a tremendous vital force of culture as well as amusement. Its value cannot be measured now, but another generation will benefit more largely than we of to-day can possibly realize."

The United States Government has now recognized the educational value of motion pictures for the purpose of impressing on the minds of her men geographical, historical, military, naval and other events in a manner calculated to produce a lasting memory. The U. S. Battleship Vermont was the first to order regular film service, and others have since followed. Other branches of the Government service are already making use of the moving picture machine for special work, notably the Reclamation Service. In a scientific way the men of this branch are achieving splendid results. The recent pictures taken of the Grand Cañon of Arkansas, the Royal Gorge, and the Sky Line Drive, by W. J. Tubken, of the United States Reclamation Service, and Geo. L. Beam, Official Photographer of the Rio Grande Railroad, were in every way successful. The films measured 21,000 feet and are the first moving pictures taken by the Reclamation Service in showing the rapid progress of the West. These pictures will be shown to the members of Congress, and after being displayed in a series of lectures will be loaned to Lyman Howe for exhibition in various other parts of the country. This feature of the

moving picture is as yet quite undeveloped, but if more universally used would effectually put a stop to the nefarious schemes of unprincipled speculators dealing in Southern and Western lands. Up-to-date legitimate real estate dealers could, with the aid of moving picture exhibitions, show what they have for sale in its actual condition, and in this way do much toward helping the much needed migration to the West and South. It is very evident then that the problem before those who believe in the efficiency of the moving picture as an educational help is to demonstrate this efficiency to the public. This can best be done by the more frequent display of scientific films in the picture theatres. When some of the valuable things that may be taught by them have been learned, then will parents realize how much the Cinematograph would aid in the education of their children.

Regarding the educational advantages offered by the moving picture, Thos. A. Edison, the well known inventor, says: "Moving pictures bring to every one an absolutely clear idea of foreign peoples through their customs, through scenes of the world and through the industries and pursuits of man. They have a tremendous educational effect. This is true even of the seemingly purely amusement motion pictures. Little cross sections of life are shown, staged and acted better than are the shows given at a considerably higher price. The motion picture is an important factor in the world's educational development. . . . . It will wipe out various prejudices which are often ignorance. It will create a feeling of sympathy and a desire to uplift the downtrodden peoples of the earth. It will give new ideals to be followed. For these reasons I believe that moving pictures in the hands of broad minded, intellectual and informed workers are for the world's good, for the innocent amusement and the moral advance of the great masses of the people."

The Civil Engineering Society of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in order to give its members some idea of large engineering projects, made use of the moving picture. Films on the Panama Canal, the building of a railroad in Canada, manufacture of steel rails, and other like subjects were shown. Regarding its success Isaac Hensmann, President of the Society, says, "It was not especially expensive and was greatly appreciated by all who saw it and well worth the trouble."

Sir E. Ray Lankester, the eminent biologist, expresses his keen appreciation of motion pictures in the following terms: "The method of instantaneous photography of minute organisms is a valuable means of research. Points of structure are revealed which were not previously seen, and, moreover, these

new discoveries are permanently recorded. For the study and analysis of the movement and the details of the action of locomotor organs (such as cilia, flagella and pseudopodia) the instantaneous films are nothing less than a revelation. While these methods do not take the place of the actual microscope they can supplement it in an invaluable way. Moreover, they can give to large gatherings of people, with the greatest ease and absolute truthfulness, a real view of microscopic life, and enable every one to have a true conception of what the microscopist and biologist are actually studying; they make science less remote, less the possession of the privileged few; and they enlist the sympathy and interest of our fellow citizens for its glorious work. I look forward to the provision, not later than next year, of a cinematographic lantern in every board school and in every college class room, and if I still had a biological laboratory under my supervision (as for the most of my past life I have had) I would obtain the film-producing photographic apparatus and set to work to make discoveries, and,—what is a great charm of the new method,—their simultaneous record, by producing films of every kind of moving microscopic organisms. I should study not merely the combined effect when rolled through the lantern, but the actual instantaneous phase permanently printed in each picture of six thousand which make up a five-minute record." It is very evident that Sir Lankester's praise of motography would be equally applicable in the realm of the physicist, the naturalist, and even the chemist.

The chief difficulty in presenting these and other scientific films before the public, or indeed before the special audience, lies not in the vagaries of public taste, but in the faulty system of distribution at present employed in marketing films. England has already taken a step toward the establishment of an open market for the disposal of educational subjects of all kinds; and, unless similar tactics are adopted here, this country will soon fall behind other countries in the development of educational motography. All the scenic and industrial films that can be obtained are used by the Education Alliance in its moving picture shows given twice a week in New York City under the direction of Boyd Fisher, Director of Entertainments. He says: "The number of educational institutions which are giving moving picture shows is increasing greatly, and they are beginning to make their demand for educational films felt. To meet his demand the General Film Company proposes soon to establish an educational bureau which will serve as a sort of clearing house for the educational movement in connection with the moving pictures."

At Madison, Wisconsin, the use of moving pictures was an experiment, carried on until all the children of grades seven and eight had had the benefit of at least one exhibition. The manager of a moving picture house interested in the use of moving pictures for educational purposes, furnished the machine, films and an operator without cost. The films selected were Oliver Twist and Lancelot and Elaine. The story was told before the pictures were shown. As the work was arranged, the picture was a form of story telling. Where the child from his own experience could not supply the setting, as in Lancelot and Elaine, the pictures were of very great advantage. Mary A. Smith, Librarian, speaking of the experiment says: "I am certain it had some very good features. Teachers and others whom we invited were not hypercritical, in fact not at all as critical as we expected." This is but one of the many examples of how unjust criticism and lack of faith in the educational possibilities of the moving picture by people utterly incompetent to judge, has not only been overcome, but, after a fair trial under anything approaching perfect conditions, has won these critics over to its side.

Chronophotography, on a fixed plate, has furnished the experimental solution of many problems in Geometry, Mechanics, Physics and Physiology that no other method could so readily have solved. In Geometry, for example, the "formation in space of geometrical figures of three dimensions," defined by Geometers as "figures that are generated by straight lines or curves of different forms displaced in different ways," is a difficulty of no mean proportion. Chronophotography, however, realizes this conception completely. In Mechanics, also, the very many difficulties which Gallileo and Atwood had to surmount in order to determine the laws of motion, of velocities and of accelerations, will, for the future, be saved in like cases for those who make use of chronophotography for this purpose. Hydro-dynamics is generally looked upon as one of the most complicated sciences. All the difficulties met with here find their experimental solution in chronophotography. In Physiology it is to the physiological study of the different gaits of animals and of the functional movement of their different organs, etc., that chronophotography is directed. Various movements of the jaw in speech, which are exceedingly difficult of observation, are reproduced clearly and accurately through chronophotography. It is not out of place to say that the Cinematograph may be a help to the psychologist. Children singing may be photographed, and their different facial expressions, such as the wrinkling of the brow, opening the eyes wide, false position of the throat, and so forth, may be studied and the results noted. At Dresden,

as reported in the *Pädagogisch-psychologische Studien*, a very excellent film has been procured showing the impulse to movement expressed by attitude, facial expression, and so forth. Pathological phenomena may be presented vividly and accurately to a large number of students.

As a means of instructing the pupils of the city schools in the science of warding off diseases and unsanitary conditions, Dr. M. Goltman, Superintendent of the Memphis Health Department, has decided upon the installation of a moving picture apparatus. The health superintendent, with the co-operation of the School Board, will arrange the moving picture lectures so that the machine can be taken from school to school in a systematic manner. With it will go an operator who is competent to speak advisedly upon every subject presented. The subjects will include the development of the fly, the development of various germs, and everything of a sanitary and unsanitary character which a student in the public school ought to know.

The doctors of insane hospitals and the superintendents of penal institutions have placed the stamp of approval on the moving picture. Moving pictures are to be shown at the Elgin (Ill.) state hospital to assist in the cure of the insane, and to offer pleasant diversion to the incurable. "Moving pictures will help us materially in curing patients," says Dr. Wilgns. "They will take the minds of the patients from their misfortunes, and like any other harmless diversion will stimulate the brain." With a moving picture show—the first that half of them had ever seen—the inmates of the Western Washington Hospital for the Insane at Fort Steilacoom, Washington, were given a Christmas Eve entertainment. "The moving picture machine," Superintendent A. P. Calhoun says, "has been installed as a permanent feature of asylum life." The inmates of the United States Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, have motion picture entertainments at regular intervals. As an educational agency in preventing the spread of tuberculosis, the moving picture is being used extensively in all parts of the country. Not only in Rochester, whose playgrounds are admittedly the best in the country, but also in Cleveland in connection with their playground work, the moving picture is being used with very good results.

The possibility of teaching Geography with the aid of the Cinematograph is deserving of consideration. When a child is desirous of knowing what a country looks like, does it want to know the exact height of a mountain, or the length in miles of a river? Is it not, on the other hand, sufficient to know that there is the highest mountain in this or that country, or that, that country has the longest river in the world, if one can but

see the actual representations of the people, their manner of living, their customs and their industries? The Cinematograph, with its wonderful views from the polar regions of everlasting ice to the burning plains of equatorial Africa, afford a substitute for that heretofore irremedial weakness of geography text-books, namely, the absence of reality. Give the child his geography lesson from the screen together with a part of the regular lecture by the teacher, and, instead of a dull, uninteresting memory lesson, that child has learned a number of facts concerning some city or country, that will never be forgotten.

Quite apropos of this suggestion of the use of the Cinematograph, the question as to which of the two predominant methods of teaching geography now in vogue should be used might well be discussed here. If, in accord with Colonel Parker's method, the end to be attained in our schools by the teaching of geography is to give the pupils such a knowledge of the physical contour of the world as would enable them to reproduce its surface in a series of raised maps or casts, then this method is evidently the correct one. How many of the present-day educators though would justify such an expenditure of the child's time and energy as is required in the committing to memory of the boundaries of the different states and countries, the length in exact terms of the rivers, the height in feet and inches of the mountains of a country, and the like? Is it not far more essential that the child's mind be taken up with the acquisition of the more characteristic facts about the different countries—the fauna and flora, the agricultural, mineral, manufacturing and commercial interests? It is by a study of geography with this end in view that a child may come to know and understand the causes that have led to the shifting of populations, to the growth of cities, and to the changes that have occurred in the modes of government. It is just these characteristics that the moving picture brings to the child's mind better than any other method and in a way calculated to make a lasting impression. In so far as description occupies a place in the teaching of geography, in just that measure should motography supplement the use of text-books.

Ordinary photography has left much to be desired in the study of the movements and habits of bird, animal, and insect life. One of the very characteristic positions of an animal, namely, that of seeking and capturing its prey, cannot be properly presented by ordinary photography, nor can it give a graphic idea of the facial expressions and characteristic movements of an animal under observation. The moving picture machine does away with these difficulties, and it is now possible to place before a natural history class "living pictures" of

bird, animal and insect life, which, by faithfully reproducing every action of the subject under discussion, more vividly impress the minds of the students than any lecture illustrated by still pictures or drawings. There can be no question as to the importance, to students of natural history, of using nothing but photographs as illustrations. No matter how well the artist may draw or how skillfully the engraver may copy, there cannot be the same accuracy of detail as it is possible to obtain from a photograph. Motion pictures would give to natural history classes the opportunity of studying subject films in which the specimens,—some of which are rapidly becoming extinct,—are depicted moving amid their natural surroundings. Of motion pictures in their relation to Zoölogical Science, Mr. P. Chalmers Mitchell, M. A., D. Sc., F. R. S., Secretary of the Zoölogical Society of London, says, "I have the pleasure to thank you (meaning a London Film Co.) in the name of this Society for the exhibition of films of zoölogical studies shown at our last scientific meeting. I am glad to take the opportunity you give me of stating that, in my opinion, such studies are a great aid to the educational side of zoölogical science. They are not only fascinating as spectacles, but they enable the events in the life history of many animals, and in particular of the lower animals, such as insects, to be displayed to a large audience in a fashion far beyond the possibilities of ordinary photographs, even when accompanied by the most vivid descriptions. The combination of patience and skill, and the technical excellence of your apparatus has brought about a most startling result."

There are at present films available upon the following topics:

Agriculture, animal life, bacteriology, biography, biology, botany, entomology, ethnology, fisheries, geography, geology, history, industrial subjects, kindergarten studies, mining and metallurgy, microscopy, military, naval, natural history, ornithology, pathology, pisciculture, zoölogy, railroad, religion, travel, and scenic, tropical subjects.

There are also a great number of other natural history subjects whose use in the schools would impart a thorough knowledge of these subjects. The Lion Hunting film, obtained last summer in British East Africa, besides vividly illustrating the life of the monarchs of the tropics in their natural surroundings, also illustrates in an incomparable way the general contour of the country and the plant life with which it abounds. Many other films have been obtained showing the life and habits of other wild animals, the very interesting characteristics of birds about which little was known, until, with the advent of the moving picture machine, there were revealed the

inmost secrets of the lives of many rare specimens. Rare specimens of eagles, perched upon inaccessible rocks, have been photographed, and the rearing of the young of the sea-birds is plainly seen. Again, the living picture triumphs in the case of insects; and the number of films now on the market is indeed amazing. They range from moths to millepedes, and from beetles to butterflies. There exists at the Brighton Aquarium probably the finest collection of fish in captivity in the world, fish from the tropics, the Arctic regions, and from the temperate zone. A film of these has been secured and one can see on the screen live lobsters, dog fish, alligators, skate and cuttle fish, and in fact any other kind of fish, just as well in the north of Scotland as in the centre of China.

One of the serious defects noted in the moving picture is its inability to display natural colors. It requires but little imagination to realize the enormous possibilities of the moving picture plus color photography in education. It is predicted that this drawback will shortly be overcome. Cinematograph films produced by ordinary photographic processes, being in black and white only, fail to reproduce the coloring of the subjects they represent. Coloring by hand has been found too expensive, and, moreover, does not yield very satisfactory results. Attempts to adapt three-color photography, by using simultaneously three films, each with a source of light of appropriate color, and combining the three images on the screen, have to overcome great difficulties in regard to maintenance of register, because very minute errors of adjustment between the pictures on the films are magnified to an intolerable extent by projection. In a process devised by G. A. Smith, the results of which were exhibited at the Society of Arts, London, in 1908, the number of color records was reduced to two. By his process, which is somewhat complicated, he succeeded in giving a reproduction of a scene photographed in colors which were sensibily the same as those of the original. "Motography," a Chicago publication devoted exclusively to a study of moving pictures, gives the following account of the use of color photography:

"The first public demonstration of color photography in moving pictures ever seen in Chicago was given recently at the Union League Club. One of the most interesting pictures shown was the famous "Bud to Blossom." The picture represents an actual moving picture photograph of many varieties of flowers bursting into bloom. The blossoming of the flowers was hastened by every artificial means possible, and photographs taken every seven seconds for two days."

M. Cervais Courtellemont, a noted French explorer in the extreme Orient, mainly known for his keen studies of the

Islamic world, is doing a noble work for mankind in preparing and presenting scenes of unusual interest in the East. He gives one the impression of always wandering on the planet with an objective in his hands, securing results which have been at all times of the greatest documentary value. China, Japan, Madagascar, Persia, Asia-Minor, Turkey, Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Balkan States, Tunis and Egypt have disclosed for him the most picturesque beauties of nature. More particularly since the Lumieres created their wonderful process of colored slides have the treasuries of Cervais Courtellmont been increased in value and beauty. Foremost in the practical application of the Lumiere process he has produced colored visions of the Oriental countries without equal.

On March 29, 1911, the George Kleine Film Company released one of the best fully educational reels ever produced in America. It is a split reel consisting of two educational subjects, the first entitled "Dr. Charcot's Trip Toward the South Pole," and the second "The Cormorants or Japanese Catching Fish with Birds." The scenes depicted in "Dr. Charcot's Trip Toward the South Pole" were obtained during two years' exploration in the Antarctic by Dr. Charcot, an eminent French explorer. The first polar picture is of "an ice-bound sea"—a phrase often met with in geography textbooks but understood in quite a new light by means of this picture. It is a bleak and forbidding picture, with its heaving ice floes and angry waters darting and swirling between every crack and fissure, but still has a weird and affecting beauty. Wonderful pictures of frozen regions follow, showing vast expanses of snow and jutting ice crags. The last few pictures show a colony of penguins, those strange man-like birds who seem to enjoy a comfortable existence in this forsaken spot. The second subject shows a very curious method employed by the Japanese in catching fish. Cormorants are birds, indigenous to Japan, which subsist upon fish. The Japanese have tamed these birds and have turned their fish catching abilities to their own use. Many glimpses into the homes of the Japanese are shown, and this fact alone makes the picture a valuable one for those of the West who are interested in the welfare of their Eastern neighbors.

Paul J. Rainey, who expects to spend three years in East Africa, India, Borneo and the Malay Archipelago, departed February 1st. With Mr. Rainey is Dr. M. E. Johnson. They have arranged to send many specimens to the Smithsonian Institute at Washington and to the New York Zoölogical Society. An item of their equipment for the expedition is a moving picture outfit, including 100,000 feet of films.

The very latest possibility for the use of moving pictures is that of animated journalism. The psychology of the trained photographer, whose instinctive impulse, when a shot is fired or a magazine explodes, is to press the button of his camera, would be an interesting study, but the fact that the omnipresence of the machine is rapidly creating a complete pictorial mirror of life is more important. So well are the camera men "covering" the events of the day that they threaten to drive the reporter out of business. They have in London three daily papers, each of enormous circulation, which contain practically nothing but news pictures with descriptive captions. They have more:—Pathé Frères, the cinematograph manufacturers, have established a daily service of moving pictures of the news. The enterprise, which goes by the name of "The Animated Gazette," is a complete news organization, with an editor, Mr. Steer, who has abandoned the old methods of Fleet Street for the new journalism, and a staff of five thousand "photo-correspondents" scattered pretty well over the world. The product of this organization is a cinematograph film which is sent out to a circuit of moving picture theatres, and is already being seen daily and nightly by more than two millions of people. An idea of the circulation possibilities of this kind of a news dispenser may be gathered from the fact that New York to-day has two hundred and fifty moving picture shows, that London has five hundred, that every city and town of America and Europe has from one to a dozen. There is little doubt but that the new idea will soon be at work in America. The editor of "The American Animated Gazette" would sit in his office in New York, scan telegraphed "flashes" of the news of the world and send out his orders. Where the old-fashioned managing editor would send for a "thousand words Roosevelt," he will wire his correspondent, "Send five hundred yards Roosevelt,—feature the insurgent smile," or he will order, "Rush one hundred and fifty yards aviation meet, two hundred if Post turns handspring in air." Journalism has never been an altogether restful enterprise. Some had fondly thought that it could not grow more "animated," but Mr. Edison has made the world over in many ways.

How many of us doubt that some day the people of India, like the people of this country, will rise up against English rule and assert their independence? What they need there is not money or forces, but simply the knowledge that their English rulers are men and not gods. Mr. Henry Kitchell Webster, writing of his travels in India, suggests this and says that he is firmly convinced that the one most important factor in bringing about this change of affairs is the Cinematograph. "It is surely and silently bringing to the minds of the people

there a knowledge of the White Man of the West as he really is. You find it (the Cinematograph) everywhere, not only in India, —from Simla to Moulton,—but through the whole East from Aden to Singapore and on, over the edge of the beyond in Borneo. Indeed, it was in Borneo, Dutch Borneo at that, in the little town of Pontianak, which squats in its marshy little maze of canals exactly on the line of the Equator—the Venice of the East, as somebody in a frenzy of irony once called it,— it was here that the idea broke over me in its full force. The show was in a big wooden building with galleries on three sides. The film that was running when my companion and I entered showed the breaking up of the ice with ice breakers in the harbor of Christiania. The only person in the audience besides myself who had ever seen a piece of ice large enough to cool a highball was the Scotch Engineer of the Chinese tramp that had brought me to Pontianak. The show lasted for hours, and the pictures were just what we see here,—domestic tragedies, domestic comedies, domestic farces of the Western world,—our own world. Here were white men at home,— men not gods, if you please,—doing things for themselves, carrying burdens, taking orders, going hungry, getting arrested; a street sweeper, a white man, being run over by an automobile; a white woman, a memsahib, being defied by her cook and having her dishes broken and being left to peel her own potatoes; and if it looked strange to me after six months, what was it to the keen faced Malay boy who watched it all with such rapt attention? What thoughts were going on in that mind of his about these gods? Were they gods after all?" The writer adds that he has no quarrel whatsoever with the methods the English employ in the government of these people. Whether they are within their rights or not makes no difference to him. The inference that must be drawn from the foregoing, however, is this,—the people of India, and especially the young of the lower class, are being educated.

What then is the function of which motion pictures as an aid to pedagogic instruction? Surely no one believes that they are intended to drive out or supplant the school. The motion picture *has* entered the school, and there is reason to suppose that it will do so more and more, not as an invader or conqueror, but as a humble and obedient servant trying to help along and render efficient the established methods. The object of this new method, then, is to furnish illustrations and point examples, to reduce the general to the particular, to render the subjective objective, to clothe the abstract in forms of the concrete. It is the office of the motion picture, just as it is of any still picture, to help in the reducing of general principles to particular applications. If still picture illustrations help

in the teaching of geography, history, physiology, and so forth, how much more so does the motion picture illustration help with its bright, vivid and as yet novel way of presenting things?

Bibliography

Courtellemont, M. Cervais. *Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, London, Mar., 1911. p. 80.

Crippen, James B. An Educational Innovation. *Nickelodeon*, Chicago, Feb. 25, 1911.

Education by Cinematograph (Abstracted from the *Bioscope Nickelodeon*), Chicago, Feb. 18, 1911.

James, William. Talks to Teachers on Psychology, and to Students on some of Life's Ideals. New York, 1899. pp. 45-47.

Lankester, Sir E. Ray. Biological Motography. *Bioscope*, London, Dec., 1911. pp. 3-6.

Lemke, Herman. Die Kinematographie als Hilfsmittel der Psychologie, *Pädagogisch-Psychologische Studien.* XI Jahrgang. No. 12. p. 5.

Marey, Etienne Jules. The History of Chronophotography. Smithsonian Inst. Annual Report for 1901. Wash., D. C., 1902. pp. 317-340.

Smith, G. A. Cinematograph, Encyclopædia Britannica. Vol. XI. p. 374.

Wallin, J. E. Wallace. Moving Pictures in Relation to Health, Delinquency and Crime. *Pedagogical Seminary*, June, 1910. Vol. XVII. pp. 129-142.

Webster, H. Kent. Little Stories of Great Films. *Nickelodeon*, Chicago, Jan. 21, 1911. pp. 81-82.

Webster, Henry Kitchell. Gods and Brothers. *Everybody's*, May, 1911. pp. 579-92.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CLUB; A STUDY IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY[1]

By Louis D. Hartson

Introduction

The Spectator says that there is nothing, as far as he can see, that any human being can desire to do, to think, or to work for, that has not a society all ready for him or her to enter. The path of life is beset with membership from the cradle to the grave (74). The kindergarten has its alumni association, invalids have their Shut-In Society, the poor organize, the rich organize, everybody belongs to some sort of a club. At a recent murder in one of our large cities the jury, though it had shown itself unable to agree on a verdict, agreed at once, as soon as discharged, to organize as a permanent society, pay dues, and have an annual dinner. The Spectator expects soon to see an announcement of the formation of the Daughters of Ellis Island with Wilhelm der Grosse Chapters or Lusitania Leagues.

For the purpose of studying this phenomenon of the social structure data have been gathered ostensibly in all the most prominent forms of its manifestation. Obviously those societies formed by one group of people for another group, such as societies formed by adults for children, are of less importance for psychological interpretation than are societies formed by groups for their own membership. We present the data therefore only of this latter type of society. In order to have a generic term which will include all such societies, and because the word society has a double meaning, we employ the term club. The object of this paper is to make a psychological interpretation of the club as a social institution. The first section presents the facts regarding the existence

[1]In this all too unsatisfactory manner the writer desires to acknowledge the helpful assistance he has received in the preparation of this thesis. Primarily in point of time should be mentioned the inspiration received from Dean Thomas M. Balliet, of New York University, and the two years training in boys' club work under Miss C. I. MacColl, of Christodora House, New York City. For material used in this thesis the writer is indebted to Prof. Will S. Monroe, of Montclair, N. J., and Miss Clare Lyon, of Lidgerwood, N. Dak. In the interpretation of the data a debt has been incurred to all of the Clark University faculty, and particularly to Dr. T. L. Smith who is truly the research assistant of all the students.

of clubs in this country important for this intrepretation. Beginning with the field of children's group activities the course of development is observed through the gang into the club, which is followed in its evolution to the mature form found among adults. Having thus before us the facts our problem consists in interpreting them on the basis of what is known of functional psychology.

Section I. Presentation of the Data

Chap. I. Group and Gang Life in Children

The club viewed genetically has a gradual growth. It does not spring up as a mature institution at any one definite chronological period in the life of a group of individuals. Its beginning is to be traced back into the group activities of childhood. Gulick says that the first appearance of group games is at about 7, in which games the centre of interest is one's self in relation to others (34, p. 39). The games played are the simple ball games, such as one old cat, running games like tag, prisoner's base, hide and seek and black man, and the marble games. There are throwing games like duck on the rock, the highly individualistic game of stunts or follow the leader, in which one boy performs some difficult or daring feat and the game consists in having the other boys one by one, do the same thing in the same way. Other games of this period are leap frog, mumble the peg, etc. This is the time when predatory activities gain prominence as do the closely allied activities of hunting, fishing, swimming, skating, snowballing and the so-called savage activities. More highly organized group games appear at approximately the age of 12, according to Gulick. Teamwork is the keynote now. The more common of these games are baseball, basketball, cricket and hockey (34).

Zach. McGhee found that group games began earlier than 12 (50). He gathered returns from about 10,000 children in South Carolina between the ages of 6 and 18, which designated the 5 favorite games of their choice from a long list submitted to them. Baseball was found to be one of the favorite games by 57% of the boys at the age of 6, and football by 43%. Even though these games be poorly organized among boys of this age it is evident that they are very popular. In later years they become even more popular. The curves for baseball show an upshoot at 11. From being the choice of 57% at 6 years it is preferred by 72% of the boys of 11 and continues at that level till 18, the age limit of the study. Football shows a steady growth in popularity from 6 to 16. Considerable difference is evident between the sexes as to the degree of organization and co-operation in the games preferred. Having grouped the games which require co-operation, McGhee found that this curve was low for girls throughout the whole period from 6 to 18. His returns support the thesis that games requiring organization and rules do not appeal to girls. Of the 12 games receiving the highest number of votes 5 are totally lacking in co-operation, while most of

the others have but little organization. Croquet, the only organized game that is anywhere high on the girls' list is very low until the age of 12. On the other hand unorganized games are abnormally high until that age. Girls' favorite plays for the entire period from 6 to 18 rank as follows: dolls have the first place, chosen by 28.7% of the girls; jump rope, 21.6%; between 10 and 22% are ranked authors, crokinole, open gates, parchesi, hide and seek, drop handkerchief and dancing.

Scott characterizes the period from 9 to 12 as one of increased activity in which the games are co-operative but poorly organized (66). His data are gathered from returns to a questionnaire sent out in Springfield, Mass. In 90 cases the returns came from adults; in the other 490 they were from boys of 10 to 18 years. Boys not belonging to a group were asked whether they had a few chums. The returns showed that 68.5% belonged to a group and that 18% of the others had chums. Scott considers a group containing less than 5 as too small to constitute a gang; if 4 boys associate together he considers them as chums. Groups as large as 9 were found among the younger boys. With increasing age the size of the group decreased. He declares the period from 12 to 14 to be that of the closely organized group. Two-thirds of the boys he questioned said that their gangs had secrets, though sometimes this was nothing more than a certain whistle or call. One half of them had some sort of an initiation.

The period from 6 to 10 is the time when the formation of chumship is most frequent, according to Bonser (11). In studying 756 boys and 1,279 girls in Illinois he found that the tendency toward chumming becomes very strong in girls as early as 5 years and reaches its height at 6, when 15% of such friendships were formed. Among boys this tendency develops a little later and reaches its minimum at 10. Bonser treats only the relationships between two individuals, on the basis that three is a crowd. Of the 2,000, only 40 state that they never had chums. His returns indicate that after puberty the formation of this type of relationship falls off very rapidly. Nearly half of the answers were from pupils of the latter half of the high school course. Between 13 and 17 the curve of frequency of forming chumships falls from 8 to less than 1% of the cases. Chums of early years continue to be such through the later years. Chums are reported as being of the same age. Differences in the ages of two chums exceed 2 years in only 2% of the cases for boys and 1% for girls. Bonser says that if older associates are chosen they are not made chums or cronies of the confidential sort (11, p. 224). Those reporting dispositions opposite to or different from their chums are 22.2% of the girls and 24.2% of the boys. The remaining number replied that they were the same or similar. Statements were made by 18 boys and 26 girls that they never had chums. In most of these cases, as shown by the other answers, there appeared an over developed self-consciousness which restricted naturalness. Of the 756 boys and 1,179 girls reporting but 12.4% of the former and 16.6% of the latter state that the friendship with their chums were broken. Of these, 34 boys and 62 girls give as their reason the fact that they moved away from the neighborhood in which the chum lived. Quarrels were stated as being the cause by 12 boys and 14 girls.

A study of the 146 boys in the Lyman School, Westborough, Mass., (a reform school) by Puffer (61) showed that 128 of them had been members of gangs. These boys ranged from 11 to 16 years. The average age of the youngest boys in the gangs studied was 12.1 years, that of the oldest was 16.25 years. The youngest boy in the gang was 7; the oldest was 19. Only 3 of these gangs existed in country towns and only 4 from places less than 10,000 in population. This only shows, Puffer says, that boys from country towns are not sent to a reform school. These 128 boys belonged to 66 different gangs. Of these, 44 had 1 leader, 8 had 2 leaders, and a few had more than 2. The average size of the gang was 10. In 24 cases the leader informally took upon himself that office; in 4 cases the boy was

informally given the leadership, and in 4 more cases he was elected by ballot. In most cases the boys did not know how the gang started, for only 17 could give any report. Of these, 6 said that the gang was started by the leader; 11 stated that they had been in the gang 5 years or more. Strangers were treated with little sympathy or were maltreated. Loyalty to the group was found the dominant motif in the rules. Of the 51 rules reported by the various gangs, 18 were against "squeeling," 8 against lying to one of the gang, and 8 required standing by one another in trouble. Out of the 54 records there were only 7 gangs which did not meet every day; of these, 3 met 3 times a week, 2 twice a week, and 1 once a week. In the records of 63 gangs all but 4 had regular meeting places. The gangs have a proprietary feeling for the neighborhood of their meeting place. Only 8 of these gangs were exclusive in membership, though they generally had a definite rule to entrance to regulate. These regulations show that they did not have to recruit members; that the new boys wanted to get into the gang. Out of 48 gangs only 11 report any form of initiation. The chief occupation of these gangs was some form of physical activity. Under this title may be grouped co-operative and nonco-operative games, fighting, predatory and migratory activities and the other outdoor occupations designated as savage. The occupations which did not find their chief element in physical activity include theatre-going, mentioned by 38 gangs, card-playing by 25, gambling by 12, smoking by 30 and drinking by 9. The attendance at theatres was not by gangs but by twos and threes. However the necessary money was obtained by gang activity. Of the physical activities, co-operative games were the most popular. Out of 66 gangs 53 have records of games requiring co-operation, such as baseball, football, hockey, basketball and cricket; 49 of the gangs spent part of their time hunting, fishing, berrying, building boats, shanties and dugouts, and camping. Predatory activities in the form of stealing were reported by 43 gangs. Fighting between gangs both of the innocent snowball variety and with fists, stones and clubs, was reported by 22 different gangs. Activities which resulted in plaguing people, such as tick-tacking on the windows, ringing doorbells, calling names at Chinamen, Jews, Italians and policemen were mentioned by 45 gangs.

Browne (12) made a study of 'gang instinct in boys' which corresponds with the data Puffer gathered, though the sources were rather different. Browne went through books on boy life by Aldrich (5), Howells (41), Hutton (42) and Warner (85), the studies of Sheldon (67), Gulick (34), and Culin 20), the reminiscences of 50 students at the International Y. M. C. A. Training School, newspaper stories and the answers received from a number of boys on the street. Of the 50 students, 25 had been members of gangs. In 20 cases the ages of the members of the gangs was given. The extremes were 7 and 18. Within the gang the disparity of ages ranged between 2 and 11 years (the latter exception being in a town gang of 75 boys). The medium disparity in ages was 4.5 years.

Stewart Culin (20), writing in 1891, gives the names of 50 different gangs in Philadelphia which he obtained by personal inquiry among the boys along the Schuylkill River front. He gives no other details except to say that they had their laws and customs, their feuds and compacts. The names would suggest that the boys were of tough character. Similar conditions have been reported by social workers in other cities. Jacob Riis wrote in 1890: "The gang is an institution in New York. . . Every corner has its gang. . . The gangs belt the city like a huge chain from the Battery to Harlem. . . They have their 'club rooms' where they meet, generally in a tenement, sometimes under a pier or a dump, to carouse, play cards and plan their raids. . . The fiction of a social 'club', which most of the gangs keep up, helps them to a pretext for blackmailing the politicians and the storekeepers in their bailiwick at the annual sessions of their picnic or ball" (64, p. 217-230). Speaking of Boston, Robert A. Woods wrote in 1898: "Almost every boy in the tenement-house quarters

of the district is a member of a gang. The boy who does not belong to one is not only the exception, but the very rare exception. There are certain characteristics in the make-up and life of all gangs. To begin with, every gang has a 'corner' where its members meet. This 'hang out,' as it is sometimes called, may be in the centre of the block, but still the gang speak of it as the 'corner'. The size of the gang varies; it may number five or forty. As a rule, all the boys composing it come from the immediate vicinity of the corner. Every gang has one or two leaders; and of course its character depends very much upon the leaders, for as one of the boys expressed it the leader says '"Come"' and the push move' . . Nightly after supper the boys drift to their corner, not by appointment, but naturally. Then ensue idle talk, 'jawing matches,' as one boy expressed it, rough jokes, and horse-play. . . I am referring now more particularly to boys over fourteen years old. . . About thirty young men belonging to one of the gangs I know, meet every Sunday afternoon at their corner. Of this number, fully half are fellows who live in the highlands, at the edge of Roxbury. I know a boy in High School—he will graduate next year—who moved to Dorchester, but comes regularly to the old corner on Sunday afternoon. No new friends can supplant the gang. . . It is interesting to know what becomes of these various gangs when the boys get to be seventeen or eighteen years old. The more respectable gangs, as a rule, club together and hire a room. The more vicious prefer to use what little money they have in carousing" (87, p. 114-118). From her Chicago experience Jane Addams says, in the same words Mr. Woods uses: "the boy in the tenement house region who does not belong to the gang is not only the exception, but a very rare exception" (1, p. 176).

Chap. II. The Boys' and Girls' Club

Henry D. Sheldon made a comprehensive study of the institutional activities of American children (67). According to the data gathered from 2,508 papers of value written as a classroom exercise, received from children of the ages 8 to 17, from 5 localities, East and West, rural and metropolitan, 68% were or had been members of clubs. Many of these were of adult formation, leaving 1,166 purely spontaneous children's organizations. An attempt was made to divide the societies into groups on the basis of their activities, with a separate group for those having secret elements. The figures are presented in a chart. For the purpose of making a comparative study these figures have been worked over and are shown in the accompanying table. For each age from 8 to 17 are shown the number of papers collected, the number of spontaneously formed societies, the number of societies described in the papers which were formed by adults for children, the percentage of those belonging to spontaneous and adult formed societies. In order to compare the activities at the different ages their relative importance among spontaneously formed clubs has been worked out in percentages. The groups Sheldon made are entitled: secret, predatory, athletic, social, industrial, philanthropic, and in one group literary, art, and musical societies.

TABLE I.

Age	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Total.
No of papers collected	103	145	246	356	407	429	269	250	74	29	2181
No. of societies formed by adults	34	44	76	97	111	142	60	52	16	2	623
" " " " " " for girls	20	25	44	56	66	73	40	32	9	2	384
" " " " " " " boys	14	19	32	41	45	69	20	20	7	0	257
Per cent. belonging to Socs. formed by adults	33	30	31	27	27	33	22	21	22	7	29
" " " among girls	38	32	37	33	33	35	27	31	30	13	34
" " " " boys	23	28	25	22	21	31	10	21	16	0	22
No. of spontaneously formed clubs	29	53	137	191	240	219	150	100	56	21	1196
" " " " " among girls	15	28	51	77	121	100	80	40	29	10	551
" " " " " " boys	14	25	86	114	119	119	70	60	27	11	645
Per cent. belonging to spontaneous clubs	28	37	56	56	59	56	56	40	76	72	52
" " " " " " of girls	28	34	43	46	60	49	53	38	99	62	48
" " " " " " " boys	28	37	68	60	52	54	59	63	61	84	55
" " of spontaneous clubs, having secrets	10	9	11	6	8	6	8	6	9	0	7
" " " " " " " of girls	20	18	19	9	15	12	10	7	14	0	12
" " " " " " " " boys	0	0	6	4	3	2	7	5	4	0	4
" " " " " predatory	27	13	15	16	10	10	8	10	4	0	11

TABLE I—Continued.

Per cent. of spontaneous clubs, predatory, of girls	27	18	6	0	6	1	1	7	4	0	5
" " " " " " " boys	28	8	19	27	15	19	16	11	4	0	17
" " " " " athletic	27	39	48	37	35	42	40	49	48	24	39
" " " " " " of girls	7	4	8	13	7	15	15	12	33	20	12
" " " " " " " boys	50	80	61	54	63	66	70	73	63	27	63
" " " " " social	0	9	6	13	12	9	13	13	16	14	11
" " " " " " of girls	0	18	15	26	18	15	20	27	24	10	19
" " " " " " " boys	0	0	1	5	7	5	6	3	8	19	4
" " " " " industrial	20	23	20	25	27	20	15	11	11	14	12
" " " " " " of girls	33	36	40	40	44	36	20	22	17	10	34
" " " " " " " boys	7	8	9	15	11	8	9	3	4	18	9
" " " " " philanthropic	4	2	1	1	3	3	5	6	2	0	3
" " " " " " of girls	0	4	0	3	3	6	6	12	0	0	4
" " " " " " " boys	7	0	1	0	4	1	3	2	4	0	2
" " " " " literary, art or musical	0	2	1	4	4	4	13	12	23	52	8
" " " " " " of girls	0	4	2	7	7	5	19	17	24	60	12
" " " " " " " boys	0	0	0	3	2	4	6	8	19	45	4

At the age of 8, with which the investigation began, the percentage of those answering who belonged to spontaneously formed clubs was 28. As the returns received were class room exercises given to all the pupils in the grades investigated, 2,906 in number, these figures may be taken as representing approximately the proportion of such school children belonging to clubs. Of this large number only 224 did not write; of the returns received 398 were defective in some details though they all described clubs. The height of the curve of membership is reached at 12 when over half of the pupils belonged to clubs. Comparing girls and boys the age of 8 shows both sexes at a level, 28 per cent. The girls' curve reaches its apex of 60 at 12 years, the boys' curve rises to 68 at 10 and then diminishes. In all cases the figures for the ages of 16 and 17 are so few as to invalidate them. Of the girls 48% belonged to clubs of their own formation; for the boys the figure is 55%. Certainly Puffer (61, p. 178) and Forbush (27, p. 314; 26, p. 44) are unintentionally misinterpreting the facts when they say that Sheldon's figures show that only 7% of the clubs were formed before 10 and that 11, 12 and 13 are the ages when the largest number of clubs were formed. Sheldon's figures furnish no direct information on the question as to when the clubs were formed nor their duration, though they suggest that they were formed much earlier than Forbush and Puffer say. The years when they were most prevalent are from 10 to 14.

Despite the instructions that none but spontaneously formed clubs be described 623 clubs formed by adults for children were written up. The curve of relation between the number of these and the total number of papers collected shows a percentage at 8 years of 33. Except for a rise again to 33 at 13 there is a general decline with age. Girls outnumber boys in the ratio of 34:22 in these societies.

A consideration of the activities of these clubs shows that secret organizations which constitute 7% of the clubs are slightly more popular in the earlier years, and that they are predominantly found among girls. These were, Sheldon says, mostly social or 'good time' clubs, though other types of clubs also had secret features. A better classification would have counted these also under the separate headings. The curve for predatory activities begins at 17% and gradually diminishes. With 8 and 9 year old girls it is as prominent as with boys; after that it drops rapidly. The curve for boys continues to be high until 15. The term predatory however is given a very loose meaning. A better term for what is meant would be unorganized play as contrasted with athletics, *i. e.*, the plays carried on without rules and being unruly. For organized games or athletics the curve rises from 27% at 8, to 48 at 10,

drops to 35, at 12, and then rises to 49, at 15. This is dominantly the boy's type. Though it rises to 15 from 7 with girls, it continues to be but a minority choice throughout. The girls' popular choice consists of those activities which Sheldon groups together as industrial occupations, sewing, giving shows, playing store and collecting. This curve rises from 33 to 44, then drops to 10. With boys it starts at 7%, reaches 15 at 11 years, and then drops. Philanthropic organizations, which constitute 3% of the spontaneous clubs, consist in his study of 2 types, those whose chief object is to help other people and those formed for mutual help against such vices as swearing, using slang, smoking and the like. The group of social clubs constitutes 11% of the whole. This is dominantly a girl's club, with whom it varies from 15 to 27% after its appearance at 9 years. Only the philanthropic clubs have a lower standing in relative importance with boys, social clubs being on a par with secret clubs, literary, art and musical organizations. This last group is the latest to appear. At 11 years it reaches 4% and until 16 never goes higher than 13%. Boys and girls do not organize together.

In addition to the data from children Sheldon collected reminiscences from 453 adults in response to a questionnaire. These he does not tabulate but summarizes and generalizes.

The period before 10 years he characterizes as the stage of imitation. At this time the play mimics the occupations of adults whom they see, hear or read about. The second period, from 10 to 14, he calls the period of invention and the following of instinct. We shall defer interpretation till the second section of the paper. It must be said in passing, however, that the cases cited as illustrations of this new element of invention and instinct include a case of a Jesse James gang, a typical gang with a club house and an Indian club. The cases he cites do not support the thesis of the appearance of invention at this age.

The quotation above from Mr. Woods ended with the statement that the more respectable gangs form clubs. His description of them particularly emphasizes their rôle in politics. There are 8 of these young men's clubs in his district of Boston. In New York they are much more numerous and similar conditions exist in other cities. One of the chief undertakings of these 'social pleasure' clubs, as they are generally called, is the management of an annual ball held in one of the public dance halls. During the winter months in Tammany Hall, Arlington Hall, Clinton Hall and the hundreds of other dance halls in New York several 'Full Dress and Civic,' Mask Balls, or 'Barn Dances' per week are held by these social clubs, so numerous are they. One club

whose meetings and dances the writer has attended held two 'annual balls' the same year. Picnics are held in the summer. Most of the members of these are wage earners and unmarried. They hire a parlor floor, sometimes also a basement where they hold dances for members and their friends only. Nearly all of them have back rooms where gambling may be carried on undisturbed by the police. Here the unemployed members may find a loafing place. In the evening the members gather informally with their tobacco and beer for a general good time, singing, clog-dancing, cards and story-telling.

It is but a step from this the 'social' club to the 'benevolent' society, the additional element being that each members pays weekly dues or 'benefits' to sick members. These are not to be confused with the great fraternal organizations existing throughout the country, but a certain relationship is evident. These clubs formed by boys in their teens grow into the adult organizations to be treated in the following chapter. To show the similarity reference may be made here to the clubs of thieves and pickpockets which are started by adolescents. Very frequently the police trace stolen goods to the club rooms of a gang of thieves. Pickpockets also have organizations of this character. A short time ago a smart fellow caught one of this gang picking his pocket and held the man's hand in his own pocket. He was about to turn the man over to the police with the proof, whereupon the pickpocket begged for mercy and promised that our friend should never be picked again. Moreover he promised that if at any time Mr. X should need any assistance he would get it by visiting the club, and when released the pickpocket invited his intended victim down to the club rooms on a certain night. At the appointed time our friend called on the pickpockets and received a royal welcome.

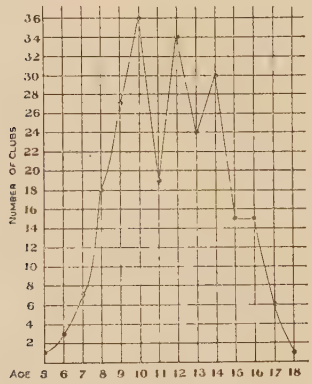
As illustrating the wide spread character of these social clubs the experience of the evening recreation centres in the New York Public Schools is enlightening. In the year 1899 the public schools were opened in the evening, with paid instructors in charge, for general recreative purposes. The last report of the city superintendent (51) gives statistics of 744 clubs which have come into the schools from outside because here is provided a warm and lighted meeting place. The settlement houses have the same experience constantly. To some extent no doubt the formation of clubs out of unorganized gangs of the street corners has been stimulated by this provision of attractive meeting places and the additional incentives of gymnasium, baths and other advantages, especially the privilege of special rates at summer camps, but this stimulation is in itself inadequate to explain the existence of

the spontaneously formed clubs, as some social workers have maintained.

The athletic club is an institution of great significance among the boys of the cities. Such organizations as the Irish-American, the Crescent and others will be treated under the heading of adult clubs. Among boys and young men small athletic clubs flourish particularly abundantly during the summer, as the advertising columns of the evening papers well show. A single edition of the Evening Journal will contain advertisments for ball games by scores of teams. A typical notice is the following: "The Alco A. C. (uniformed) desires to schedule games with 15 yr. teams for Sunday afternoons in July, to be played at Pelham Bay Park." Several of the papers conduct in this way an extensive engagement bureau. The recreation centres and playgrounds furnish the opportunity for competitive contests in basketball, gymnasium and track events as well as baseball.

Because of the fact that no data except that furnished by Sheldon has been published regarding girls' spontaneously formed clubs, the writer has made a special study of this type of organization. Through Prof. W. S. Monroe reminiscences were obtained from 189 girls in the State Normal School at Montclair, N. J. Prof. Monroe asked the members of his psychology classes to write an account of the clubs they had been instrumental in forming, the organizations which were spontaneously formed by the girls themselves and independent of adult interference. They were asked to tell the number of members and their age, the duration and the ostensible purpose of the clubs, to state the basis of membership, and whether or not there were any secret characteristics. Of the girls in these classes only 17, or 9% of the whole number, had not been members of some spontaneously formed club. Some had belonged to more than 1, the 172 girls reporting and describing 261 clubs.

The curve of age for the formation of clubs covers the span from the fifth to the eighteenth years. The one case of a 5 year old girl was exceptional; they wanted to exclude all under 7 but her sister's influence got her in. Of the 236 cases where age was stated the medium was 12, the average 11.9. The curve shows that the period when the formation of clubs was most frequent was 9 to 14. In 6 cases the age was given as being 8 to 9. If we count these as being under 9 we have 32 cases of clubs formed before 9, or 13% of the total. Only 37, or 16%, were formed after the age of 14. Of the total number 218 report the duration, or length of time of existence. This varies from 1 hour to 5 years, and in 7 cases the clubs



Age of Girls when they formed Clubs.

still exist. The average duration is 9.7 months. 209 report membership. This varies from 3 to 50. The average is 8.1.

The ostensible purpose of these clubs was declared to be dominantly social or for a good time in 111 cases; in 3 others this is a subordinate motive. Sewing is the chief motive in 31 clubs, and a subordinate motive in 31 others. 21 clubs are dramatic, 4 subordinately so; 13 are declared to be dominantly philanthropic and 19 have this as an incidental motive; 14 are dominantly literary, 4 subordinately literary; secrecy is the sole motive in 18 cases and in 6 cases it is a subordinate motive; 4 are for spite; 10 clubs are athletic; 3 are card clubs; 3 have a religious motive; in 2 cases each the chief purpose is exploring, music, languages, and for the protection of animals; in 1 case each, clubs were formed for the study of birds, of algebra, history, large cities, and of civics, and 1 was a postal club, 1 an Indian club, 1 for self-improvement; 2 had as a subordinate purpose the elimination of slang among the members. Adding the dominant and subordinant purpose and figuring the percentages we obtain the following table:

Purpose	Social	Sewing	Philan.	Literary	Dramatic	Secrecy	Athletic	Spite
No.	114	62	32	28	25	24	10	4
%	35.3	19.2	9.9	8.7	7.7	7.4	7.4	1.2

Purpose	Cards	Relig.	Explor	Music	Language	Animal	Slang	Birds
No.	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	1
%	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.3

Purpose	Algebra	Hist.	Cities	Civics	Postal	Indian	Self-Imp.
No.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
%	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3

Of these clubs 80 or 36.5% are secret.

In most cases these clubs are but incidents in the group life of girls already united by friendship and the play activities. This is particularly evident in cases where the same group forms numerous clubs, one succeeding another. One girl writes: "We children were very fond of forming secret clubs and had several at different times. Sometimes I or my sister belonged to two different ones at a time." Another girl reports 5 different clubs. In such cases the club is not the cause of the group formation but incidental to its activity. In other cases, of which the following is a good example, the club is the principal bond of union. "Last spring I organized a club. I wrote to my girl friends inviting them to my house to discuss plans for forming a club, the object of which was to do something to aid the Fresh Air Fund which sends poor children to the country in the summer. The girls were very enthusiastic over the idea and each girl agreed to bring in at least one member. The members were all between the ages of sixteen and twenty and were good workers. After four meetings which were held at my house the club was organized and we decided on different ways to make money." Although these girls were friends they were not constantly together in their activities. The club was extra-incidental and not incidental to their life. In the great majority of cases, 231 in fact, the descriptions show that the clubs were incidental to the play activity; in the smaller group of 30 cases the activity was extra-incidental. Of these 30, 2 were under adult leadership, the only ones in the whole study which were. The medium age of the formation of these groups was 15. Only 8 were under 14; none were under 11. The duration of these clubs varied from 3 months to 8 years. The medium duration was 2 years, the average 25.6 months. The membership varied from 4 to 120, with a medium at 14 and an average of 20, with an average deviation of 13. The primary purposes were in 9 cases social; in 3 cases each athletic, sewing, literary, musical and religious; in 2 cases each for study of languages and for card-playing, and 1 case each of clubs formed for dancing, dramatics, philanthropy, and the study of algebra and of history. Secondary purposes of philanthropy in 3 cases, literary activity in 3 cases, social in 1 case and sewing in 1 case were present. 9 of them were secret.

As another form of approach to the question the clubs were divided into 3 groups according to age, the 32 clubs of girls under 9 forming the first, or group A, the group of 170 formed by girls between and 9 and 14 inclusive constituting group B, and the 37 cases of clubs over 14 making group C.

A. The duration of the clubs in group A varied from 1 week to 3 years. The medium duration was 8 months, the average 9.3 months with an a. d. of 8. 1. The membership varied from 3 to 12. Of the 26 cases where membership was stated the medium was 5, the average 5.5 with an a. d. of 1. 4. One of the largest clubs had 2 boys as members. The following is the order of prominence of the purposes: good time, sewing, dramatic productions, philanthrophy, athletics, spite, exploring, literary and musical occupations and bird study. Of this group 12 had secret elements.

As an example of the type of club most common among these young girls the following may be quoted:

"When we were about 7 years of age we formed a club called the 'Dramatic Seven.' As the name implies the club was formed for the purpose of having little 'plays.' After we had given one play we changed the names to the 'Merry Seven' and gave parties. Originally there were 7 members, all close friends to each other. As we became acquainted with other children we allowed them to join if we liked them very much. We had a peculiar password, 'two drops.' These words were selected because when joining, each member had to go through an initiation ceremony, which consisted in having two drops of salt water dropped on the tongue through a medicine dropper. The club lasted about a year." Other characteristic features are added by this account: "When some of my friends and I were on an average of 8 years old we formed a little sewing club which met Saturday afternoons. This little club, of which we were very proud, was organized for a twofold purpose. First we sewed and embroidered clothes for our dolls, and secondly we had little outings during the vacation time from the money in the treasury. The dues were three cents per week a member, and every Saturday we met at a different member's house. One of the chief and most important things to me was the little spreads which were served after the meetings, by the mother at whose house we held our meetings. As far back as I can recollect we had 6 members, all girls, who were the organizers. No boys were allowed to join our club. We had no password or held no initiation ceremony. Having no satisfactory candidates, and two of our members having moved, our little club broke up after having existed two years."

B. Group B is the largest, including 170 cases. Duration was stated in 155 cases. The medium was 5 months, the average 9.27, with an a. d. of 9.08. The number of members in 152 cases had a medium of 8, an average of 7.7 with an a. d. of 3. 4. These clubs were in half the cases for a good time. The other purposes were found to rank as follows: sewing, 50; philanthropic, 29; dramatic 18; secrecy, 17; literary, 13, athletic, 4; religious, 2; for the protection of animals, 2; and 1 case each for the study of large cities, and for history, to play Indian, and for self-improvement. Secret elements were present in 53 cases.

An illustration of the social club of 14 year old girls is well represented by this report:

"About four years ago three of my girl friends and I formed a small club. We named it the Weathervane and each of us represented a wind, one

north, one east, one south and one west. It was an exclusive organization and though we contemplated admitting four members to make northeast, etc., we never did. I was at the time about fourteen years old. Our only purpose in forming it was to have a good time. We met on Friday evenings and always made candy. Sometimes we played games also. Our dues were five cents a week, and they were used only to have a good time. The club lasted for about two years when it was broken up because one of the members went to Europe. During the time it lasted we had one party to which only four were invited. We went on little picnics, but only by ourselves. It was not a secret society so we had no password but we had what we called a club call. It was 'North, south, east or west, which one do you like the best!' We also had a club song which one of the girls composed. Our colors were green and gold and to this day we are all loyal to them. We were going to get club pins but the club broke up before we could decide on them. We kept a book in which the secretary always wrote up the minutes of each meeting. We had election of officers about once every two or three months. Of course each member was an officer."

The following pictures the typical sewing society:

"At the age of eleven another girl and I organized a little club for the purpose of making Xmas presents as well as for pleasure. The club consisted of only eight members and no other person was allowed to join. We called ourselves the 'Sewing Club' and wore black and orange rosettes in order to make people ask questions. We met at each person's house, sewed, had little refreshments and had a general good time. We met once a month. The society only lasted about four or five months. I remember I was secretary of the organization."

This portrays a dramatic club:

"At the age of thirteen I with five other companions about the same age formed a club which we called the 'Dramatic Club.' We would read all the children's stories we could get and then attempted to stage those which we thought were best suited for the purpose. New members were taken in according to what was needed in the cast, and only those were admitted who we thought had the ability. It was not a secret organization and we had no password. The club lasted for one summer and disbanded when school began."

A typical club with philanthropic motivation is thus described:

"When I was about twelve years old I belonged to a secret society called the S. B. C. The club was formed to make scrap-books for a hospital, which the sister of one of the members was interested in. Two of us formed the club and we chose three other girls whom we asked to join. This made five of us and no one else could join. We had neither password nor ritual. The club lasted about a year or perhaps a little longer."

What we have called a literary club includes such as this:

"One voluntary organization to which I belonged when about thirteen was a reading club. A list of good books was arranged, each of which was read before the club by each member in turn and then discussed. Our object was to read good books and become acquainted with the life of the authors. New members were freely taken in until we had twelve; that was the final number. We continued our club for nearly a year. All proceedings were kept secret."

C. Of the 37 clubs formed by girls over 14 years of age, 7 were still in existence at time of writing. The reporters

being juniors and seniors in normal school may be judged to be at least 18. Figuring on the length of time these clubs have actually existed to date of reporting, the medium duration in months is 12, the average 20.3 with an a. d. of 12.1. This is figured from the 31 cases reporting duration. The membership varied from 5 to 40; the medium was 10, the average 12.6, with an a. d. of 6.7. Here also there were 31 cases. These were mostly social clubs. The other purposes in order of importance were dramatic, literary, athletic, for the study of a foreign language, card-playing, sewing, religion, philanthropy, music, algebra, civics, saving of postal cards and the elimination of slang. 8 of these were secret.

A comparison of the 3 groups shows that the duration of the clubs in groups A and B was very nearly the same. For group A it was 9.3 with an a. d. of 8.8; for group B it was 9.27 with an a. d. of 9.08. Group C however shows a great increase, the duration here being 20.3 with an a. d. of 12.1. The membership shows a slight increase with age, the figures in the 3 cases being 5. 5, 7.7, and 12.6. A comparison of the purposes and activities shows that the motive of social pleasure occupies approximately the same prominence in each. Sewing occupies the same position in A and B but it drops considerably in C. The dramatic motive appears in nearly the same proportion of cases in each period. Of the 32 instances in which the philanthropic motive appears all but 6 are in clubs under 13; *i. e.*, 55% of the cases being under 13 have 81% of the cases of philanthropic motivation. The literary motive remains of the same prominence in the 3 groups. The athletic purpose which is insignificant, evident in but 7 cases, appears at 10 and over. The motive of secrecy appears as a dominant one in 16 clubs and as a concomitant or subordinate one in 10 others. Moreover 82 have some secret characteristics. The ages when secrecy is a motive for forming clubs is from 8 to 14. In one case no age was given. Of the 25 others, 18 or 72% were under 11 years of age, while only 21.4% of all the clubs were under 11. All were under 15; half of them were at 9 and 10. Of those clubs having some secret elements the age was given in all but 2. There were 31 under 11; *i. e.*, 38.8%. This illustrates the kind of club in which the purpose is secrecy:

"When I was ten years of age six little girl friends and myself formed a secret club, which we called W. N. T., meaning—we never tell. The club was of the most secret character; everything was whispered in order to make it more mysterious. We had no password but always spoke to each other in 'hog Latin.' The membership of the club was most exclusive since we took in only those whom we especially liked and who would let us run things the way we wished. The only object we had in forming the club was to keep certain other children whom we knew guess-

ing when we spoke in whispers. The club lasted for about six months. One of the exclusive members told the name of the club and this was the cause of its finally being dissolved." To represent the sort of club meant when we say that it had some secret elements though not formed for the purpose of secrecy as the above, the following may be quoted: "I belonged to a club of sixteen girls and boys. The object was to give performances. Our meetings were secret and our password was 'Bobkin.' We used to give little plays only for our own amusement and nobody outside ever came. . . . This club lasted one summer.

The athletic clubs were evenly distributed through the different ages. The 4 'spite' clubs were under 12.5 years. Those formed for playing cards, for studying history, language, civics and algebra were formed after 14, as was the 1 for self-improvement. The kindness to animals motive appeared under 13, as did the 3 formed for bird-study, the study of cities and for playing Indian. The religious motive appeared at 11, 12 and 17. Self-improvement appeared in 1 case, at 14.

As to frequency of meeting, 103 furnish data. Of these, 3 do not furnish the age of members. In 10 cases meetings were more frequent than once a week; in 63 they were once a week, and in 24 less than once a week. Of those meeting more frequently than once a week all but 3 are under 12 years in age; all but 3 of those meeting less frequently than once a week are over 11; all are 10 or over.

Data was furnished for 115 clubs as to the basis of membership. In 42 cases the membership qualification was just the fact of being playmates or neighbors; 37 were described as cliques; the basis was attendance at a certain school or membership in a certain class in 12 cases; in 12, new members were voted into the club, in 1 case by majority, in 7 by unanimous vote, and in the others the statement merely was that new members were voted on; in 9 a literary or musical test was given; in 1 the qualification was the possession of pretty clothes; in 2 cases the club was declared to be open. Grouping all those whom we may be reasonably sure were exclusive, *i. e.*, the cliques and those admitting only by unanimous vote and the 1 having the qualification of dress, the total amounts to 45, or 39% of the whole. Comparing the number of cases of clique organization for each age with the total number of clubs at that age, the following percentages are obtained, corresponding respectively to the ages 7 to 18: 14, 19, 13, 11, 10, 16, 27, 27, 33, 20, 33, 100. Although a rise is evident in the frequency of cliques at 13, the difference between the earlier and later years is not very remarkable. The last figure, it is to be observed, is for the only club formed at that age.

From a section of the country entirely isolated from that whence these normal school girls came have been obtained data of a similar nature. Miss Clare Lyon, Principal of the Lidger-

wood, N. Dak., High School, asked the members of her English classes to describe what clubs, if any, they had ever been members of. The instructions were similar to those Prof. Monroe gave. There were 27 members in the Senior and Junior classes, of whom 23 were taking English, 18 girls and 5 boys. All but 2 of these had belonged to some sort of club or 'bunch,' but 9 of these show adult leadership. The others, 9 girls and 3 boys described spontaneously formed clubs. Out of 18 girls, therefore, 50% had been members of spontaneously formed clubs, The ages at the time of formation varied from 9 to 14, the number of members from 4 to 15, with an average of 6. The average duration was 7 months. The purpose of organization was predominantly for a good time, lesser in importance being the purposes of sewing, card playing, reading, dramatic productions and philanthropy. One question asked was their preference: to have a chum or to belong to a club. Replies were received from 11, 9 of whom preferred to belong to a club; 2 preferred having a chum. The fact was disclosed that there was no conflict between the two sorts of relationship however. The typical situation may be described thus in the words of one of the girls: "Here in this town I have belonged for quite a while to what is known as the 'Bunch,' and besides have always had one particular girl as my chum." From various sections of the country have been gathered other data of a confirmatory nature but of too disconnected a character to be classified.

It will be well here to summarize the facts thus far presented regarding boys' and girls' group activities. At the age of 5 or 6 children get together in their play. These groups are roughly organized and they participate in unco-operative and unorganized games which gradually shape themselves into definite games with rules, this germinating period lasting until puberty. This gang activity may continue until maturity unless the group is organized into a club. The club makes its appearance as early as 7 or 8, both with boys and girls. Of the spontaneously formed clubs reported by Sheldon 45% were of girls. Of the girls in Prof. Monroe's classes 91% had been members of clubs. In a personal letter from Miss C. I. MacColl, of Christodora House, a settlement on the lower east side of New York, the statement is made that "girls in our neighborhood group as do the boys. In the past three months I have had applications from fifteen different groups of girls from fourteen to twenty years of age wishing to come to Christodora as organized clubs." The ages when clubs were most frequently found among boys were 10 to 14; this corresponds with the time when they are most often formed among girls. After that age they do not cease to be members of clubs but they

usually join organizations which they find already in existence, the permanent adult or student clubs. The number in the gang averages 9 or 10. We have no figures on the size of the boys' club, but as the gang organizes itself into the club we may infer that the two are the same size. The girls' clubs were found to average 8 members, they increase in size with age, the adolescent clubs having an average of 12. In external formation, then, boys' and girls' clubs are very similar. The difference between them is in their activities and purposes. This correlates closely with the fact that clubs formed before the age of 13 or 14 are but incidental to the regular group activity. Nine tenths of the clubs reported by the normal school girls were of this character. Boys' clubs spend their time mostly in physical activity; girls have clubs for sewing, dramatic productions, tea parties and social good times. Girls say that they form clubs for a good time; boys say that they are for baseball, which is saying the same thing since boys play ball for a good time. The activities of either sex could be carried on without the club. In girls the exclusive clique spirit is stronger than in boys. Secrecy is prominent among girls under 11 years; it is not so strong among boys. After the age of 14, clubs appear which are not mere incidents in the play life; a new basis of membership is introduced.

Chap. III. Student Societies

Student life offers a volume of material for the study of social psychology that has scarcely been opened. Nowhere can the psychology of later adolescence be more profitably studied than in the group life of students. Pres. Hall says: "Student life is perhaps the best of all fields, unworked though it be, for studying the natural history of adolescence. Its modern record is over eight hundred years old and is marked with the signature of every age, yet its essential features do not vary" (35, p. 399). The 17 pages following this statement in "Adolescence" summarizes a great many of the facts of these student societies from the nations of Bologna and Paris to the modern college fraternity. It is necessary for us in this study, so far as the presentation of data is concerned, to confine ourselves to present-day American societies. First to be considered are the societies of the preparatory and high schools.

The first fact to be observed is that the conditions prevailing in the public high schools are very different from those found to exist in private boarding schools or the preparatory departments of colleges. In the latter case the organizations among the students approximate quite closely those in the college. The group organizations chronically present in the high school

are the class, the literary and debating society, the athletic association, the glee club and orchestra, and less frequently mandolin, dramatic, art, camera, craft and science clubs, publication boards and fraternities. Generally the classes organize in a rather loose way and for special occasions, for the furtherance of class and school interests. In some cases only the senior class thus organizes with officers and committees and perhaps a constitution, for the purpose of managing the commencement affairs. Besides the clubs distinctly of high school students smaller group organizations are formed, as was shown in the preceding chapter. These are not characteristic of the high school but of that period of adolescence. The literary and musical societies, except in the larger places, are as a rule under the directing hand, if not propelled by one of the instructors. The athletic clubs, at least among boys, are more truly spontaneous. In this case, however, the faculty have usually found it advisable to associate themselves in an advisory capacity and often as financial managers.

The last twenty years has witnessed the formation of secret fraternities in the high school. As to their prevalence at present it is only possible to approximate as there are no figures. Baird merely says: "They are numerous, but have, except in a very few instances, little elements of stability, and in fact are imitations of the mere externals of the college fraternity system without really grasping or living up to its principles of brotherhood and mutual helpfulness" (6, p. V). The difficulty of determining their prevalence is because first, in but half the cases are they national organizations, and second because of the circumstance that, on account of the opposition to them on the part of the school authorities, secrecy is a means of protection. The report in November, 1904, of a committee appointed by Pres. Harper gives the best idea of their prevalence in the Middle West. Questionnaires were sent to 464 schools; replies were received from 306; of these "about 170 had no fraternities" (73, p. 3). Complete answers were received from only 19 private and 71 public schools. The private schools, having an enrollment of 2,207, had a fraternity membership of 796 or 36.06 %. The 71 public schools, enrolling 54,827 had a fraternity membership of 4,523 or 8.35%. The number of fraternities per high school varied from 1 to 6; in many schools there was but 1 sorority. Two exceptional cases were noted; the San Francisco Girls' High School had 7 sororities; The Central High School of Toledo, O., had 9 fraternities and 5 sororities. The average fraternity membership was found to be 30 whether the school contained 100 or 1,500 pupils. The only difference is that in the larger schools there are more fraternities (73). A couple years earlier

Gilbert B. Morrison sent out inquiries to 200 high school principals in the largest cities of the country. Answers were received from 185; of these 87 reported experience with fraternities, and 98 reported having had no experience (55). The conditions in New England in 1904 were reported by a committee of which C. T. C. Whitcomb was chairman. He received replies from 244 out of 301 requests for information sent to towns in New England and to a number of large cities throughout the country. Fraternities were reported as existing in 72 schools (86). A committee of the Y. M. C. A. sent out a few questionnaires in 1908. They received replies from 48 high schools in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Of these 15 have fraternities; 33 have not. The average membership in these societies is 26 (89). All of these reports record the opposition to the fraternity in the high school. Indiana, Kansas and Minnesota by legislative acts in 1907 sought to abolish them. These papers name 22 cities that legislated against the fraternity.

College societies are more familiarly known. As Sheldon pointed out in his book on college societies, where the elective system has been introduced, it destroyed the autonomy of the class, which had until about 1880 been an important factor in the social life of the American college (68, p. 196). In the smaller colleges the class organization is still quite strong. Through the machinery of its constitution, officers, and committees it conducts 'proms,' banquets, parties, the year-book, dramatics, etc., and crystallizes a class spirit which vents itself in the inter-class athletic and debating contest and develops a subtle loyalty to 'noughty-several.' To enumerate the different kinds of organizations which students form would be to duplicate every type of adult club and then add a good many others such as students only form.

Michigan University has a total of 176 student organizations including 20 fraternities in the literary department, 13 in the professional schools, 9 sororities, each having its own house, 10 sectional clubs, 6 literary and debating societies, 6 musical clubs, dramatic, athletic, military, honor societies, class organizations, press and publishments, and general university clubs, such as medical, socialist, woman's suffrage and Christian associations. Wisconsin University has 130 such organizations (71, pp. 208, 228).

A few of these types of club deserve special attention. The last edition of Baird's handbook on secret fraternities (6) issued in 1905 names 31 general chapters for men, 17 for women, 50 professional fraternities, (about 10% of whose membership is duplicated in the general fraternities) and local fraternities to the number of 70 for men and 47 for women,

with a total membership of 242,501. The World Almanac of 1911 (88) gives larger numbers in each case, the total being 329,417. It is evident that this number includes alumni, as the total student body in universities, colleges and technical schools in the United States is only 289,204 (88) and that in Canadian schools is only 10,000. Besides the secret fraternities, there are general honorary societies bearing Greek letter names. All are copies of Phi Beta Kappa which now has a membership of 15,000. The peculiar features of the college fraternity are: (1) their residential character; they provide a substitute for the home atmosphere by furnishing a house exclusively for the residence of the society members; (2) their secret features; (3) the extreme care taken to choose members of congenial interests.

Religious organizations are found in all colleges. That of widest extent is the Y. M. C. A., which numbers 758 organizations with a membership of about 60,000. The eastern schools have other religious societies and denominational clubs. Athletic associations, to which the greatest part of the students belong, are universal. Their purpose is to furnish financial and moral support for the teams. Lack of space forbids further details as to student organizations. Pres. Hall, in one of his remarkable sentences of 20 lines, summarizes the different kinds of clubs found in colleges (35, p. 416).

Chap. IV. Adults Clubs

Much valuable data would be provided for sociological as well as for psychological interpretation of the club were we to trace the history of its development. As student life is the great laboratory for the study of later adolescent social nature, so the club life of adults reveals the working of the social processes of maturity. The difficulty of this task is that there can be found no beginning until the earliest human life is unearthed and laid out for inspection, and even then we would be referred to higher animal life. All that the limits of this thesis will permit is an outline sketch of the growth of the club in America, with a presentation of the main facts regarding the most prominent representatives of the types now existing.

In 1800 there were but few clubs in this country. Freemasonry had been introduced from England between 1723 and 1740. In 1743 the American Philosophical Society was formed. In 1764-5 the Sons of Liberty, a secret political organization, was founded. The New York Chamber of Commerce, the first prominent representative of the business club, was organized in 1768. The date of the Phi Beta Kappa was 1776. The Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1787, the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1791, and the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences completed the

list of important learned societies. The officers of the disbanding army formed the Society of the Cincinnati in 1783. As a corresponding and rival society was formed the Society of Tammany in 1789. The first woman's club on record was the Female Society for Relief and Employment of the Poor, Philadelphia, 1798. In the next 30 years the growth was not very rapid. The principal organizations of this period were the following: The New York Society of Journeymen Shipwrights, 1803, had some of the characteristics of the labor union. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810, started the great missionary movement. The Society of Red Men, 1813, developed out of the Sons of Liberty. Odd-Fellowship was introduced from England in 1819. 1826 was the birth year of the National Academy of Design and the Society of the War of 1812.

The period from 1830 to the Civil War saw the birth of many reform movements which worked through clubs. Women now make their influence felt as never before in history. Labor unions sprang up, and political clubs were numerous. They had no small influence in crystallizing action in support of the principles that rent the union. The leading women's organizations of this period were the Ladies' Association for Education of Females, Jacksonville, Ill., 1833; the Female Anti-Slavery Society and Home for the Friendless, 1834; the Daughters of Temperance, 1840-50; the National Woman's Rights Society, Nauvoo, Ill., 1842; the Ladies' Physiological Institute of Boston, 1848, and the Woman's Equal Rights Union, Seneca Falls, N. Y., 1848. Many local labor unions were organized, and the first national union, The International Typographical Union, 1850. Other unions of more than local importance were the New England Workingmen's Association, the New England Protective Union, and the Industrial Congress of the United States, all formed in 1855. The National Education Association was started in 1857. Several secret societies of a fraternal nature were organized and two were introduced from England,—the Ancient Order of Foresters, 1832, and the Ancient Order of Druids in 1839. In 1842 the Sons of Temperance and in 1843 B'nai B'ruth, a Jewish secret society, were organized. There were over forty learned societies formed during the period, principal among them being the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1857. There were several important political societies of short duration.

By far the great majority of societies existing to-day have been formed since the Civil War. The fraternal insurance society movement may be said to have been begun by the Ancient Order of United Workmen, in 1868. Since that date have been formed over 600 on a similar pattern (54). The same year was the birth year of the 'woman's club' movement, starting with Sorosis of New York and the New England Woman's Club of Boston. In 1868 the National Labor Union, formed two years earlier, reached an aggregate membership of 640,000. Though it declined, its task was taken up by the Knights of Labor, founded in 1869; its aggregate membership was 702,924 in 1888 (40, p. 379). This organization in turn lost power and the American Federation of Labor, 1881, took up the mantle. The scientific societies as well began their modern epoch after the war. The great organization of farmers began in 1867 when the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry was founded. The growth of societies has continued constantly, each year adding a greater number of new organizations. Meyer says that of the 568 fraternal orders, the date of whose organization could be obtained, 78 only were formed before 1880, 124 between 1880 and 1890, 136 between 1890 and 1895, and 230 between 1895 and 1900. The number of clubs of all kinds continues to grow by geometrical progression. The Handbook of Learned Societies (16) gives the dates of practically all the learned societies in America, except those in the fields of medicine, agriculture, local bar and teachers' associations, leagues for civic improvement, charitable organizations and patriotic societies. Detailed data are given for 431 national and local societies of the United

States. Of these 5 were formed in the period 1740-1800; 11, 1800-30; 49, 1830-60; 24, 1860-70; 54,1870-80; 90, 1880-90; 114, 1890-1900; 84, 1900-08.

Considering more specifically the different types of clubs now found in America, we may commence with the fraternal order.

The aggregate membership in secret societies according to the World Almanac (88) is over 11,000,000. This does not constitute one eighth of the population, as might be supposed, because most of these people belong to several societies. The age of admission to membership is as low as 15 in a few, is 16 in a great many and 18 will admit to the majority of fraternal orders. The oldest of these is the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, which has existed in its present form since 1717 (76). Outstripping Freemasonry in membership is the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. It dates from 1739 in England. Two other important societies were imported, the Foresters and the Druids. The Knights of Pythias, the Elks, Knights of Columbus, Order of Good Templars, and the Sons of Templars added to the four above, make up the group of societies which do not have insurance features. Their aggregate size was in 1907 four fifths as large as those having insurance features. This group may be classified as charitable, benevolent, religious or philosophical and mystical.

The majority group of fraternal societies pay sick, death, disability or other benefits. The largest of these is the Modern Woodmen of America, founded in 1884; it now has over 1,000,000 members. The purpose of all these fraternal orders, whether with or without insurance features, is mutual helpfulness. In organization they have the peculiar features introduced by secrecy, ritualism and mystic rites.

As was said above, the 'women's club' movement started in 1868. We use the quotation marks to designate the peculiar meaning attached to this type of woman's society, which Mrs. Harper says women "formed purely for their own recreation and improvement" (75, p. 1043). This does not characterize the woman's movement as a whole, however, and the societies which started with this narrow spirit "widened by degrees into a study of practical matters related to law and economics," so that to-day the General Federation of Women's Clubs, representing a membership of over 500,000, has committees on art, child labor, civics, civil service reform, education, forestry, household economics, industry, legislation, library extension, literature, pure food, reciprocity and other topics. Besides this large federation there are many other organizations of women, only a few of which can be mentioned.

The National and the American Woman's Suffrage Associations were founded in 1869 and united in 1889. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was founded in 1874 for securing the abolition of the liquor traffic. Its scope of work is so broad as to require 40 departments. Its membership, including children's societies is about half a million. Other societies of national importance constituted entirely of women might be mentioned in almost every field of endeavor. Some of these will be mentioned in the following paragraphs. Fraternal orders have female almost as frequently as male members.

Philanthropy as an organized movement of national scope culminated in 1873 when the first National Conference of Charities and Correction was held.

This organization now numbers between 2,400 and 2,500 members, and represents all phases of philanthropic and charitable work. There are several societies working for international peace. The Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration was founded in 1895. The National Municipal League, 1894, enrolled in 1909 in 168 organizations reporting 163,473 members. The American National Red Cross Society was incorporated in 1905. It is a systematically organized body for furnishing relief in disasters of national scope. In 1911 it has a membership of 15,000, organized into local chapters, and has an institutional affiliation with 15 associated charities. The National Civic Federation founded in 1900-01 has as its purpose the co-operation of the best brains of the country in an educational movement toward solving some of the great problems related to social and industrial progress. It has an executive committee of over 50 leading representatives of capital, labor and the public at large. The National Conservation Association was organized in 1909 to fight for the prompt and orderly development of our natural resources. It is a separate organization from the National Conservation Congress, formed the same year, though the two work harmoniously.

Of slightly different nature, as far as basis of membership is concerned are the educational associations.

The National Education Association, formed in 1857 as the National Teachers' Association, assumed its present name in 1870. This is the official society of the teaching profession, and has as its purpose the elevation and advancement of the profession. On Dec. 1, 1909, it had a membership of 10,964. The Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle was founded in 1878 with the aim of continuing the influence of the Chautauqua Assembly throughout the year in all parts of the country. Since that time more than 260,000 members have been enrolled. The Association of Collegiate Alumnæ was formed in 1882 for the purpose of uniting the alumnæ of different institutions for practical educational work. Dec. 1, 1909, the number of regular members was 4,377.

More specific in character are the societies for science, literature, and art.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science had its first meeting in 1848 in pursuance of a resolution adopted in 1847 by the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists. This is the most comprehensive of American scientific societies, having an enrollment in 1910 of over 8,000 members, in 11 sections, and an affiliated relationship with about 30 societies within the scientific professions. A more exclusive organization is the National Academy of Sciences, incorporated by congress in 1863. There are now 115 members and 44 foreign associates. In the National Academy of Design there are 138 national academians and 124 associate national academians. The American Academy of Arts and Letters dates from 1904. Its first members were selected by 7 men, chosen by the National Institute of Arts and Letters from its own body, with authoriy to select the other members of the Academy until the number should reach 50. The National Institute was organized in 1898 at a meeting of the American Social Science Association, the qualification for membership in which is 'notable achievement in art, music or literature.' The number is limited to 500. The American Social Science Association was organized in 1865,

its field being the investigation and discussion of all subjects pertaining to the progress of human society. It has a membership of about 1,000. A similar society, founded in 1889, is the American Academy of Political and Social Science which has about 4,000 members.

Several special religious societies deserve attention besides those organized with churches.

The churches in 1910 had an aggregate membership in the United States of over 34,500,000. Part of the church work is conducted by specially organized missionary societies. There is no separate membership in most cases. The members of the American Baptist Missionary Union for instance, are all members of the Baptist Church. Auxiliary societies of women exist in which money payments corresponding to dues are sometimes expected. The point of view in these religious societies is different, however, than in any other form of club, or than in the Young Men's Christian Association, where a regular payment is made in turn for certain privileges. The Y. M. C. A. was founded in England in 1844. The Boston and Montreal Associations were founded in 1851; the first national convention in America occurred in 1854. At present there are in North America over 2,000 associations with an aggregate membership of 500,000. The Young Women's Christian Association started in England in 1855. In this country the organization was formed in 1858 as the Ladies' Christian Union.

The patriotic societies in existence before the Revolution may be said to have been largely political in character.

The Society of the Cincinnati was the first of that group now prominent that have as a basis of membership an hereditary qualification. The World Almanac of 1911 mentions 32 such organizations for men, 11 for women, and 4 that have a mixed membership. The chief military organizations are the Society of the War of 1812, formed in 1826, the Aztec Club of 1847, the Grand Army of the Republic, 1866, which in 1910 had 213,901 members, the Sons of the Revolution, 1875, the Sons of Veterans, 1879, and the Societies of Spanish War Veterans. In 1883 the Woman's Relief Corps, Auxiliary to the G. A. R., was formed with the object especially to aid and assist the G. A. R., and to perpetuate the memory of its heroic dead. It had in June, 1910, 164,255 members. In 1890 was started the group of societies which employ this hereditary qualification as a means of obtaining an exclusive membership for social purposes. In the same summer were formed the Colonial Dames of America, and the Daughters of the American Revolution, the latter being the more influential of the group, having in 1910 a membership of 60,250. The characterizing feature of these clubs is not their purpose but their eligibility test.

Most of the labor unions of the country are affiliated into the organization known as the American Federation of Labor.

In 1910 this was composed of 122 national and international unions, with an aggregate membership of 1,534,700. In the railway unions not affiliated with the federation were 282,136 men, and in the other independent unions 138,688. Besides these there are several organizations such as the Knights of Labor, the American Labor Union, and the Western Federation of Miners, from whom no figures could be obtained. The estimated trade union membership in the United States and Canada for 1909 is 2,500,000 (57, p. 404).

At the time of every political campaign local political clubs spring up everywhere in all parties.

In the two leading parties there are strong permanent organizations of a central character. The National Republican League of the United States was organized in 1887 by delegates from about 350 local clubs, its aim being to enlist voters for the party. It has a membership of 1,500,000. A similar organization in the Democratic Party, now in its third year, has 875,000 members.

National organizations exist in many of the professions.

The American Medical Association was incorporated in 1897 and has a membership of 35,500. The American Bar Association was organized in 1878 and now has 4,000 members. From these it is but a step to the professional organizations of business men. The American Iron and Steel Association is classed by the Carnegie Institution as one of the learned societies. It was founded in 1855 to take all proper measures for the advancement of the trade, and its membership is constituted of manufacturers of iron and steel. The same handbook includes the American Railway Master Mechanics Association, 1868, founded for the advancement of knowledge useful for this trade. The National Association of Manufacturers, 1895, is but the most general of 500 employers organizations that might be named. Corresponding to every degree of organization of labor exist organizations of capital. So on down the list we might go, if there were paper enough, to enumerate the clubs of governors, bankers, accountants, commercial travellers, clerks, pickpockets, thieves, tramps and 'black-handers.'

Another type of organization is represented in the athletic associations.

These exist locally in almost every city in every branch of athletics. For the last 20 years amateur athletics has centered in the American Athletic Union, which now represents in active membership over 400 local clubs, and as allied members 10 national associations, the aggregate membership amounting to about 2,000,000 competing athletes. It was organized in 1887 and after a war of several years with its predecessor, the National Amateur Athletic Association of America, which was founded in 1879, the latter was absorbed.

A society in a class by itself is the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, 1867. It admits women on an equality with men. Its purpose is to promote all that is best in the mental, social and spiritual development, as well as to advance the material interests of its members. Local granges have been formed among the farmers of every section of the country. In numbers it reached its greatest height in 1875, when there were 1,500,000; this was the result of the panic of 1873. At this period the society got into politics with disastrous results. At present it confines its activities to educational and social wrok.

In the above treatment the aim has been to describe the chief facts regarding the most prominent representatives of all types of the club. Most of these have been national societies. Connected with each are local organizations, formed on a similar plan. In thousands of cases, however, there are local clubs entirely independent, and each varying from the others. Foremost among these is the 'social club' formed in every town. Where there is wealth enough a club house is built. The World Almanac gives the names of 76 such clubs in New York City, which have a membership of

75,000. The chief purpose in the social club is a good time and the agencies employed are almost as varied as human interests. In the way of summary of the adult clubs nothing can be said but that for every conceivable object a group of people may have in common the American tendency at present is to organize a club.

Section II. Interpretation of the Data

Chap. I. The Dynamic Mental Forces which Produce the Club

Thus far this thesis has confined itself to a presentation of the facts regarding the club, *i. e.*, to the structural aspect of social psychology. This section of the paper attempts an interpretation of these data, which process constitutes the functional aspect of social psychology. In the genetic approach to this question it is possible to see the development of the different psychical processes involved. The task of this chapter is to describe the dynamic mental processes which produce the club.

It will be helpful first to draw a distinction between the activity of the group and the form of organization of the group. The activity has its causal plexus more firmly established and developed than does the form of organization. The needs of the human race do not change with every wind of fad, but are fundamentally the same in all groups throughout ages. In studying the activities of boys' and girls,' men's and women's clubs we find at base the innervating cause that has inspired the group life of ages. On the other hand, the fraternal beneficiary organization, the woman's club and the societies of boys and girls have a form quite modern. Moreover the universality, in America at least, of membership in clubs of one kind or another, is one of the facts sociologists have found remarkable.

There are but three kinds of self-activity: play, work, and drudgery. (I am following here Dean Thomas M. Balliet, as he treats this subject in his classroom lectures.) Some things are interesting in the doing without reference to what results from that activity; this is play. Work differs from play in that it has an end that is desirable. The activity itself may be interesting or uninteresting; the distinguishing feature about work being that it is performed for the sake of an end. Drudgery is unpleasant activity which accomplishes nothing; the doing and the result are both painful and useless. In studying the activities of groups we have to consider only the first two. A society based on drudgery

cannot endure. I would go beyond Dr. Balliet here and classify play on the instinctive level of activity, and place work on the reflective level. The most fundamental instinct any organism has is activity, just pure movement for its own sake. Our definition of play, therefore, makes it fundamentally instinctive. The new element added to activity which makes the compound work is forethought, the idea of end, deliberation.

This classification of self-activity is directly applicable to the study of group life. Up to the age of fourteen, on the average the club organization was found to be purely incidental to the play life of a group already formed. After that age it was clearly evident that ulterior purposes were motive powers for bringing together a group. The transition is not abrupt. The first appearance of reflection in group life is made in groups originally ruled by instinct. What can be said is that boys and girls do not deliberately form groups for an ulterior purpose until about the age of fourteen. The appearance of the reflective process in group life by no means banishes the instinctive. In fact in all life the reflective is a secondary motive. Especially is this true of club life, a type of life which is in general only possible when the day's work is over. It is in the club that adults get themselves back into the play attitude of childhood.

The motivation for the activity of group life is then either instinctive or reflective or both. A consideration of the content of the activity introduces another functional process, namely contagion. The content of play is in part recapitulation, *i. e.*, so far as it is instinctive. A clearer statement of the function of recapitulation, however, would be to say that, in so far as an individual resembles his ancestors, as the result of an instinctive *Anlage*, he will act as they do, and that in general the individual tends to pass through the stages of development that the race has traversed. Because of the fact that a great part of the literature dealing with the club misinterprets recapitulation it seems necessary to interpolate a statement of our position. The chief error has been due to the fact that primitive life has been misinterpreted. If modern anthropologists be correct primitive man was not so savage and gorilla-like as, à la Jack London, we have been wont to conceive. The savage is pretty close to the intellectual leader of our civilization, if we but take the latter on his unguarded vacation moments. The Englishman enjoys hunting and fishing as much as does the savage. The American college professor approximates the life of the Indian just as closely as he is able, when he gets a chance. The main difference is in the degree of complication and organization of his social life. The

primitive man lived under an economic régime where there was no factory system nor complicated social structure, but his was the first hand contact with nature. His struggles, which were the same as the civilized man faces, were met with different tools and in a different degree of organization. The two men, the primitive and the present day man were fundamentally the same. To use Prof. A. F. Chamberlain's phrase, both are 'generically human.' The boy of to-day is an Indian in the sense that he is an uncivilized man; he has n't become a cog in the great economic or moral system. Psychologically the chief fact is that the boy's moral sense has not reached the point of development where he can understand his relationship to the larger social group. We say he is a 'little savage.' We mean that he is in that period of growth when, the power of reflection appearing, all previous standards of conduct which before have been accepted unreflectively, now come to the bar of individual judgment, and the first reaction is a revolt, an insurrection against the moral order. The truth in recapitualtion, if these facts be correct, is then that the individual does recapitulate the race history, but our history has been misinterpreted.

The viewpoint of recapitulation provides an explanation of many of the more individualistic activities. In boys the life of woods and field and stream with its hunting, swimming, fishing, building of huts, tents and dug-outs, the exploring of caves, trapping, skating, coasting, making boats, and in girls, keeping house, making clothes for and caring for dolls, making mud pies and similar activities may be considered as motivated from the great instinctive or recapitulatory power house.

The organized games such as baseball, football, hockey, cricket, basketball, as well as tag, duck on the rock, prisoner's base and the scores of similar games, and in girls' activities croquet, keeping store, playing church, jump rope, clap-in and clap-out, these, and the other group games of similar nature involve in the consideration of their content the factor of contagion, using that term to include both imitation and suggestion. By far the greatest part of the content of the activities of pre-adolescent clubs is the result of imitation of the activity of others, or is the effect of suggestion by others. A curious misinterpretation is recorded above in Sheldon's treatment of clubs. The period before ten he calls that of imitation, that from ten to fourteen he calls the period of invention and the following of instinct. As illustrating imitation he describes the experience of a group of school children. The teacher read an Indian story; all the next winter the children played Indian. This correctly enough he interpreted

as imitation. A group of thirteen year old boys, however, formed a Jesse James gang (Sheldon makes the parenthetical statement that tales of this notorious leader were rampant at the time). This he interprets as showing reversion, the following of instinct. Certainly the latter case is as truly imitative as the former; both are in fact good examples of imitation. Such is the correct interpretation of all Indian games. Recapitulation will explain the love of outdoor life, but it will not explain the wearing of feathers, the shaping of tomahawks or of bows and arrows. Recapitulation will explain such predatory activities as stealing apples and watermelons, but it cannot be used to explain the organization of bands of desperadoes of robbers, pirates and military companies.

As illustrating the power of contagion in determining the content of girls' club activities the following may be cited:

"When about twelve years old I formed an organization with about eight other girls of my own age. We called our society the Chrysanthemum Society, and our object was to help if we could the little heathen Chinese children which we had heard and read so much about. This was a purely voluntary organization, no one knowing anything about it at first with the exception of the members. We had, I remember, a meeting once a week for about two weeks. In these meetings, which lasted about fifteen minutes, we would have some verses read from the Bible. I remember that I was always anxious to be the one to do the reading from the Bible. After this each one would read some short article concerning the children in China; then we would discuss what we intended to do to help them. We finally decided to hold a fair. This we did and sold lemonade and cake. We invited all the boys and girls that we knew in the neighborhood. They knew nothing about our society until the day of the fair. What little money we managed to get from the fair we gave to our Sunday School teacher, who was greatly surprised when she heard what we had done. I think that our organization did not last over two weeks. We finally grew tired of it and abandoned it."

From among a large number of others this illustration may also be given in full:

" The first club to which I belonged and which was formed by my playmates was the 'Sewing Club.' We five little girls, about eleven and twelve years old, were greatly absorbed in sewing—either embroidery of small pieces for ourselves or the tiniest of doll's clothes. There were no other girls admitted to this club, because the other girls whom we knew were not interested in sewing as we were. Then, too, the club changed its real purpose and it became rather a secret society. The club was started about the beginning of the summer vacation and toward the end we decided we had enough doll's dresses. Just at the time there had been many interesting reports concerning the society people of New York . We talked about these events at our club meetings and finally decided we would pretend we were these wealthy people. Each chose her favorite name for herself and her husband and thereafter we called our club the 'Fourhundred Club.' The chief object of this club seemed to be to imagine ourselves in all the positions of our respective rôles—attending grand balls, theatre-parties dinners and the like, with the gowns and everything appropriate which we

could imagine. Being thoughtful children as well as very imaginative we did not forget the poor people of whom we heard much from the conversation of our elders. In our imagination we gave bountifully to charity and to all who came in our path. To be sure, in our real life, we knew we never could do so much as this, but to me at least, it was a pleasure beyond that of the beautiful gowns, to think of some one who might be able to do it. Our only passwords were our assumed names. This club continued for about two years and even after two of us moved away from the town we continued it in our letters."

As Sheldon made the mistake of calling the period from ten to fourteen predominantly that for the following of instinct as a determinant of the play content, so also he was incorrect in calling this the period of invention. Invention or the contribution of original interpretations to situations and phenomena are not the product of minds that do not deliberate, and deliberation in the preadolescent bespeaks the precocious child. Deliberation as a process in the formation of the content of play seldom occurs before thirteen or fourteen. When it does appear it completes the trio, instinct, contagion and deliberation, which constitute the determinants of the content of the activity of the group.

Our treatment of the development of the form of the organization of the group is quite closely related to Baldwin's study of "The Basis of Social Solidarity" (9 and 8). He differentiates three modes of collective life: (1) the instinctive or gregarious; (2) the spontaneous or plastic; (3) the reflective or social proper. The first is the gift of physical hereditary. The second is the result of social transmission, an emotional response to a social suggestion, its laws being imitation, suggestion, contagion, spontaneous union in common experience and action. The third is the mode of conscious intention, of intelligent judgment, the force which leads people to rebel against the authority of society and the rule of plastic suggestion. The first mode of collective life is illustrated in the family life of animals. The crowd following the leader is the typical example of the second sort; the committee, the legislature, the administrative bureau represent the third type of organization.

Baldwin does not apply this schema to the interpretation of the club, but gives us a point of departure. If we may broaden the instinctive element, gregariousness, to include the additional factors involved in sociability, the resultant complex will satisfy our conception of the forces which produce the club. Sociability is one of the sentiments, using the word sentiment as Titchener defines it: "The sentiment represents the last stage of mental development on the affective side, as thought represents the highest level of development on the side of sensation and image" (76, p. 499). Sociability is gregariousness evolved to the level of a sentiment.

The affective element in gregariousness is made evident by a feeling of uneasiness in isolation from, and a feeling of satisfaction in the physical presence of one's kind. As Kropotkin has shown by a wealth of illustration (47) gregariousness is a common instinct of higher animals. He says: "The necessity of communicating impressions, of playing, of chattering, or of simply feeling the proximity of one's kindred living beings pervades nature, and is as much as any other physiological function, a distinctive feature of life and impressionability" (47, p. 55). A classic description of gregariousness is given in the "Inquiries into Human Faculty" (28, p. 68-81) where Galton relates his experiences with the South African oxen. Two processes, at least, contribute to the development of gregariousness, association for protection against opposing enemies and elements, and association in play, the activity of the leisure hours, perhaps, when the demands of eating and fighting have slackened. The resultant legacy left to man from this gregarious association of animals is an instinctive pull toward the company of other men. In its lowest form it expresses itself as the joy of being in a crowd. The professional entertainer recognizes this and throws out inducements to draw the crowd, because the crowd is in itself an asset, even when it spends no money. One of the greatest attractions of Coney Island is the fact that there one will be in a crowd. Gregariousness explains why on election night or New Year's Eve in the great city multitudes of well educated people find themselves irresistibly drawn to the streets where the crowd is thickest. There is a feeling of exaltation and exhileration that sweeps over one when in a crowd that has a charm all its own, because it satisfies a primal need. McDougall attributes the growth of cities far beyond the point of optimum economic efficiency to this instinct (49, p. 296-301). Ross writes: "These instincts (gregarious) appear as craving for the presence of one's kind, distress at being left alone, nostalgia after separation from mates, and a capacity for social pleasure indicated by mirth, laughter and festal impulses. They lead to social amusement, play, games, dancing, feasting and intercourse. These in turn foster friendly interest, spontaneous helpfulness and a sense of solidarity" (65, p. 14). As is suggested in this statement the concept of the consciousness of kind, in Giddings's terminology (29, p. 17) is envolved. Gregariousness, however, adds the desire to be with those of one's kind.

The baby shows by a smile at the age of two months, according to Darwin (21, p. 289), Preyer (60) and Perez (59, p. 29) that it enjoys the presence of others. This reveals gregariousness. O'Shea says: "When one sees an infant reciprocating

the loving expressions of its mother, and later pleading with her to remain near by merely that he may enjoy her presence, it seems beyond question that he has brought with him the rudiment of sociable feeling which causes him to ascribe a social value to persons and to desire to have friendly intercourse with them" (58, p. 5). Referring to the work of Sully (78, p. 242) and of Kirkpatrick (46, p. 119) O'Shea continues: "It is not too much to say that there is a kind of pleasure in personal intercourse which the child experiences before he has completed even six months among us" (58, p. 5). Cooley's statement on this point is as follows: "By the time the child is a year old the social feeling that at first is indistinguishable from senscious pleasure has been much specialized upon persons, and from that time onward to call it forth by reciprocation is the chief aim of his life" (18, p. 49). Kirkpatrick says: "As early as the second year they (children) manifest great pleasure in the company of other children near their own age" (46, p. 119). McDougall says that "agoraphobia seems to result from the morbidly intense working of this instinct" (49, p. 85).

As the child grows, gregariousness becomes sublimated in various sentiments, one of the most important of which is 'active sympathy,' to use McDougall's terminology. This constitutes the second level in the development of sociability. Active sympathy is a different process from the crude, sympathetic reaction. "It involves a reciprocal relation between at least two persons; either party to the relation not only is apt to experience the emotions; he actively seeks the sympathy of the other, and, when he has communicated the emotion, he attains a peculiar satisfaction which greatly enhances his pleasure and his joy, or in the case of painful emotions, diminishes his pain" (49, p. 168). Crude sympathy is that which Darwin saw in the expression of his child "at six months and eleven days by his melancholy face, with the corners of his mouth well depressed, when his nurse pretended to cry" (21, p. 294). When this crude sympathy is supplemented by gregariousness the product is the sentiment of active sympathy. We follow McDougall here: "Since man certainly inherits this (the gregarious) instinct, we may see in this the principle that we need for the explanation of the development of active sympathy from the crude sympathetic induction" (49, p. 170).

Sympathy deals, however, only with the affective phase of experience. Sociability, on the other hand, presupposes ideational as well as emotional experience. Sympathy can scarcely be used to denote both types of process, since sympathy means suffering with, *Mitgefühl*. The broader meaning added by the process of intercommunication of thoughts is

expressed by the term *rapport*, as this presupposes both the emotional and ideational intercommunication. Sociability, then, is the sentiment which finds its manifestation in satisfaction when two persons are *en rapport*, and in loneliness when this need for intercommunication of thought and emotion is unsatisfied.

As distinguished from gregariousness, sociability requires intercommunication of experience between individuals, reciprocity of thought and emotion, if not absolute free trade. One of the walls in the structure of sociability is the desire to be appreciated. This involves at least an awareness of personality, and it increases in direct ratio as the sense of self becomes more clearly defined. The longing to be appreciated is one of the most universal human cravings and its satisfaction is one of the chief functions of sociability. The complementary wall of this structure is the possession of the power to appreciate others. There can be no sociability without subordination of self to an extent necessary to allow of a recognition of other selves. Prof. James said: "We are not only gregarious animals, liking to be in sight of our fellows, but we have an innate propensity to get ourselves noticed, and noticed favorably by our kind. No more fiendish punishment could be devised, were such a thing physically possible, than that one should be turned loose in society and remain absolutely unnoticed by all the members thereof. If no one turned round when we entered, answered when we spoke or minded what we did, but if every person we met 'cut us dead,' and acted as if we were non-existing things, a kind of rage and impotent despair would swell up in us, from which the cruelest bodily tortures would be a relief; for these would make us feel that, however bad might be our plight, we had not sunk to such a depth as to be unworthy the attention of all" (43, p. 293-294). The ability to subordinate self involves the development of the sense of the alter. Baldwin (7) and James (43, p. 291-401) have shown that the sense of the alter is acquired with the sense of the self. This is no easy acquisition, but comes only with years of knocking up against other people. The studies of group life have shown that as soon as the child is able to leave his mother's apron strings, at about five or seven, he seeks the companionship of others of his kind. Thus is gregariousness manifested. O'Shea says: "The boy at first wants to be it. Gradual discipline in group relations develops the group consciousness" (58, p. 304). The reason why early activity is unorganized, uncontinuous, inco-ordinate, is because the children have not yet learned to get out of themselves and see the game as others see it. A game of baseball among pubescents is a noisy, riotous, scrappy affair and it

almost invariably terminates in a fight. The 'fighting instinct' here finds its *raison d'être* in modern society in serving the function of subordinating innocent, unsophisticated self-feeling to the will of the group. The gregarious impulse compels them to get together so again and again they try it, and gradually as the result of hard knocks, each learns to appreciate the rights of the others. In this way is laid the foundation of sociability, the power to appreciate the other fellow's point of view. This process usually takes until the age of twelve, as the studies of group activity have shown.

The negative evidence of sociability is lonesomeness, nostalgia. This feeling is manifest in all types of mental culture. It appears in its highest form among scientists, philosophers, artists, or other pioneers on the frontier of thought, when separated from minds sufficiently developed to appreciate their interests. Hauptmann in "Einsame Menschen" (38) gives the classical picture of this type of loneliness. Literature furnishes many examples; actual life many more. In Chap. XVI of the Epilogue of "War and Peace," Tolstoi presents a fine illustration of this highest type of sociability: "Natasha and her husband left alone, also talked as only wife and husband can talk, namely with extraordinary clearness and swiftness, recognizing and communicating each other's thoughts, by a method contrary to all logic, without the aid of reasonings, syllogisms, and deductions, but with absolute freedom. . . As in a vision everything is illusory, absurd, and incoherent, except the feeling which is the guide of the vision, so in this intercourse, so contrary to all the laws of logic, the phrases uttered were not logical and clear, while the feeling that guided them was" (82). The demand of sociability in the cultivated man is a burning desire to talk to some one about the problems that occupy the thoughts. To be sociable does not mean that individuals must think alike, or hold the same opinion, but that they must understand and appreciate each other's thoughts; they must be congenial in their thinking. This involves us in the subject of congeniality of interests, which is discussed in the following chapter.

For gregariousness, then, in Baldwin's schema we substitute sociability, a more highly developed sentiment, as the primary psychological factor of those which produce club organization. It is this which brings children together originally, and after clubs are formed it is sociability which of all forces is the most powerful in holding them together. By far the most prominent reason given by children for the existence of clubs is that they enjoy being together. Nor does the power of sociability diminish with age, for with rising mental grasp rises also the type of sociability. In the boys' club sociability is satisfied

in the athletic contest, the interplay of physical experience; in adolescent clubs sociability utilizes to a greater extent the interplay of emotional experience and to a lesser degree of ideational experience. With adult clubs sociability is more dominantly satisfied with the interplay of ideas. In one level of society those ideas may constitute nothing but gossip, or the news of the more concrete, nearer interests. In the scientific or professional society this sentiment is satisfied by the food hardest to digest, but most tempting to the educated mind. Groos has recognized this where he says, in "The Play of Man" (31, p. 337): "Finally, I remark that a playful motive is often discerned in the formation of the multifarious clubs for the advancement of some worthy object in this age of abounding culture. We all know persons for whom the absolute interest in the ostensible purpose of the club would be out of the question but for the good company. The mere fact of being one of a group is satisfaction enough to the gregarious instinct and the playfulness of this condition can scarcely be questioned." Hugh Black points out the fact that, "the very existence of the church as a body of believers is due to this necessity of our nature, which demands opportunity for the interchange of Christian sentiment" (10, p. 72). In all societies, this interaction of individuals upon other individuals as they impart their experience and receive in turn the experience of others, produces a satisfaction which is the chief cement binding clubs together.

The second factor of those which determine the establishment of the club is contagion. Baldwin speaks of this as a group of factors which he calls spontaneous or plastic, as we pointed out above. Tarde (80) attempted to explain all social organization by this factor alone, which, while failing to recognize the other factors, has forced everyone to appreciate the immense rôle played by imitation. If Tarde had been treating preadolsecent clubs only, instead of the whole social organism, we might follow his position more closely. But imitation involves in its very definition something to imitate. The original model was formed to some degree through deliberation. So with clubs. Adult clubs form the model copied by children.

The studies show that with boys and girls under thirteen or fourteen the clubs are merely incidental to the other group activity. The club is just another form of play, *i. e.*, is a form of activity carried on without an ulterior motive. A few examples illustrate the general rule that the form of organization as well as the content of the activity of preadolescent clubs is the result of contagion.

"When I was about twelve years old, I became acquainted with a girl two years older than myself, who, as she was in high school, seemed a very great and marvelous person to me. As she lived near me, we naturally became friends, and although she treated me in a sort of supercilious manner such as girls of that age are apt to use toward younger ones, I admired her with all my heart, and looked upon all her words and actions as an example. One day I overheard her talking to a friend about some secret society to which she belonged, and of course I could not rest until I found out all the particulars and had made plans for the forming of a secret society of my own. I told three other girls about it and they were all eager to be in it also. Our place of meeting was to be the darkest corner of our attic and the aim was to write a book of joint authorship that when published was to be the marvel of the age. (It was the latter, though I'm sorry to say it was never published.) The meetings were lighted by candle-light, and the password was: 'I have told no one.' The entire society consisted of six girls and a rag-doll, which was the mysterious seventh person; and each member brought one cent to each meeting, which occurred each Saturday afternoon. The business of the meeting was soon dispensed with, and then each week a member would write a new chapter to the book and read it, as her part in the programme. After the reading of the chapter refreshments were served which were six lollypops or peppermint sticks, bought with the dues of the week previous. This organization lasted for nearly a year, and then would not have become dissolved had not illness (in the form of measles) overtaken four of the principal members. The book certainly was on its way to be a masterpiece, but fate interfered, and the short, sweet life of the 'Society of the Daughters of Literature' ended."

This account shows more individuality than most and, in that respect, shows less the force of contagion, yet this club was the result of suggestion.

As contagion almost entirely explains the form of organization of the club in the years of preadolescence, it is after that age and throughout adult life a very powerful factor. Deliberate organization always sets the type; the thousands of copies are run off from an electroplate. High school fraternities mimic the college organizations. The later college societies copy those first formed. The secret fraternal organizations which have a membership amounting in numbers to one eighth of the entire population of the country are not fifty years old. They are imitations in one form or another of the three earliest, which have had a history of many generations. New scientific societies are modeled entirely on the constitutions of older ones. The fact of contagion in determining the organization is so evident as to need no further elaboration.

The third great factor in this process of club formation is deliberation. In an earlier paragraph reflective action was made synonymous with activity carried on for the sake of an end. Clubs, the organization of which are the result of deliberation from that fact imply that they have a purpose in mind. Another implication of deliberately formed clubs, or voluntary associations, as they may now be called, is that their members realize the importance of united action; recognize strength in union.

A classification of voluntary associations necessitates a recognition of all the motives that move men to united action. The classification of motives is a problem for the ethicist. Clubs might well be grouped under three headings: (1) those formed for self-advancement; (2) those formed for the advancement of others; and (3) those formed for the advancement of a cause. Most voluntary associations unite all these motives and it would be impossible to evaluate all organizations on this basis.

In our studies the deliberate motive did not make its appearance until the age of twelve to fourteen. Among the girls' clubs it was found that those clubs which were not merely incidental to the play life of the group did not appear until about fourteen. In Sheldon's study the group of literary, music, and art clubs was insignificant until fourteen. Among boys the growth of the deliberate motive is harder to trace. Johnson's study, "Rudimentary Society among Boys" (44) furnishes an excellent example of the way rules develop by the trial and error method. In the McDonough School, isolated several miles from Baltimore, these boys were comparatively free from suggestion. Having new situations to face they worked out original rules in regard to the gathering of nuts and eggs, catching rabbits and muskrats. A picture which more truly parallels the actual process of development, as it occurs in an unisolated situation, is that painted by Pres. Hall in "The Story of a Sand-Pile" (36). Gulick's study reviewed above, showed that co-operative games appear after the age of twelve. Such games require some degree of planning and forethought, though to a lesser degree than is required in a voluntary literary club, because all the boy's previous training has been in athletics. The beginning of the high school period is as early as deliberate motives play any great rôle either in boys' or girls' clubs.

In summary of our consideration of the dynamic mental factors involved in the formation of the club: All clubs are at base founded as the result of the innate tendency to be sociable. But the club may be formed either as the result of contagion or of reflection. In the experience of the individual it is formed first through contagion; later through deliberation. In the adult club both forces are at work.

Chap. III. The Mental Conditions Necessary to the Formation of the Club

In the preceding chapter the aim was to present all the mental forces which in their functioning produce the club. They are the seed; their fruit is the club; but the soil of human

nature which is the environment in which their development occurs must needs be of a peculiar sort. There are certain conditions necessary to the formation of the club, which it is the purpose of this chapter to discuss.

The first condition is that there be individual differences in the capacity of leadership. In group activity it is necessary that there be some one to take the initiative, to be the leader. There can be no united action where all are blind followers with none to suggest or guide. However, it seldom happens that any group assembles in which there is no one who possesses more ability as a leader than do the others. This is one of the commonest of individual differences. In children, as in adults some are leaders, a greater number are followers. Mumford has written a thesis on this subject. Groos says:

"The blind obedience accorded a leader of a little band is calculated to fill parents and teachers with envy. Here the social impulse is supreme in the demand for association and classification which governs and directs society. . . The common fighting plays of children markedly exhibit this voluntary submission to a leader, less known, I think, in regulation games than in the many contests which a crowd of children will naturally fall into when a few belligerent spirits are present; when there is a trick to be played on schoolmates or janitor, or an orchard to plunder, some unpopular person to annoy by breaking his windows or otherwise damaging his property—in these escapades the leader's word has absolute authority, and the most docile children will commit deeds in blind obedience which fill their parents with amazement and horror." (31, pp. 338-39.)

The studies of clubs show the importance of leadership. Leadership is one of the most prominent characteristics of the gang, as shown particularly by Puffer's study. Leadership is less prominent in girls' than in boys' clubs. This is to be explained, probably, by the nature of the activities of the two sexes, or on the sexual differences which determine the activities. The physical activity of boys demands leadership; in sewing, serving tea and social activities there is less occasion for leadership. Most of the cases where officers existed in girls' clubs may be explained by contagion. One girl reported that there was no definite term of office, but new officers were elected whenever they felt the need of some excitement, thus the fact was revealed that in this case the election of officers was merely another play activity. Interesting in this connection is the comment of Groos:

"It seems that those manifestations of the social impulse relating to subordination are not pursued by women so energetically nor in the same way as by men. Woman is the guardian of good form, but as a rule she will not subordinate herself to rigorous law. I think any customs agent will bear me out in the statement from his observation of the behavior of travellers. This probably results from a difference in the instinctive equipment of the sexes; fighting impulses which are strongly developed in the males, further the social ones by reason of their imperative requirement of association. . . The success of American women in their

movement for emancipation is largely furthered by their participation with men in various sports and the consequent better development of their social capacities (31, p.339-40).

The second condition necessary to the formation of the club is congeniality of interests. "The term interest," says Miss Calkins, "is best used as a synonym for involuntary attention" (15, p. 103); or as Dewey states it, interest "is impulse functioning with reference to an ideal of self-expression" (23, p. 22). The direction of one's interests is determined by temperament, that is, by inherited *Anlagen*, and by the type of experience lived through. Dewey says: "they (the occupations of the individual) decide the sets of objects and relations that are important, and therefore provide the content or material of attention, and the qualities that are interestingly significant" (24, p. 220). The interests of young children are similar, since temperament is but dimly manifest until self-consciousness develops, and because early experience is approximately alike for all. The children of master and slave play together in perfect harmony. In later years social equality is impossible because of the disparity of interests. Similarity of experience or training, in individuals of similar native interests, tends to give approximately the same level of ability, the same level of apperceptive mass; ability to understand the same ideas, to appreciate the same art and literature and music, to carry on the same activities of work and play; opportunity to enjoy the same social status, to see about the same amount of the world, to mix with about the same class of people; in sum, to develop the same interests.

A club to be durable must be formed by people having the same type of interests. Women's clubs must consist of women of the same social stratum. There can be no working together, between the woman on the rag-time level of appreciation and the woman on the symphony level. A social club is unsuccessful in which some members know of nothing to converse but gossip, while others have broadly trained interests. Young boys and girls can't get along together in clubs because their interests are absolutely different. Miss Addams calls "the companionship of mutual interests is the soundest of social bonds" (4. p. 151). Ross says the labor union is due not to a spirit of association, but interlacing interests (65, p. 181). Those who would work for unity of different religious denominations should not overlook this fact. It is by no means implied in this connection that the different members be of like minds; that is, agree in their points of view in regard to religion, politics or what not, but it does mean that they agree in having an interest in the ultimately true position in regard to these matters. It must needs follow, then, that they will be

undogmatic enough to recognize the possibility that some other then their own viewpoint may be the right one. A very good club may be formed of Jews, Catholics, Protestants and atheists; they may meet on the basis of congeniality of interest if, back of their desire to support each his own view, there be a common interest in the truth.

Ratzelhofer considered interests to be the ultimate psychological factors which differentiate groups in society (62). He failed to recognize, however, the deeper underlying forces which develop individual interests. He over-emphasized native interests and underestimated the power of training. Moreover he was dealing with the larger groups which constitute society. Our position is, merely, that congeniality of interests forms one of the conditions of the successful club.

In the formation of clubs failure is often experienced, as in many other movements, the stated reason being that the time was not yet ripe. Translating this metaphor into a psychological statement, we would say: a sufficient number of people had not acquired the same particular interest. The history of the woman's club movement illustrates this. To use a specific case, the attempt at Seneca Falls, N. Y., in 1848, to form a suffrage society, was a failure. The club could not get more than twenty members and only lasted about a year because as the organizer said: "Amongst my own sex I found too many on whom ages of repression had wrought their natural effect and whose ideas and aspirations were narrowed to the confines of 'woman's sphere,' beyond whose limits it was not only impious, but was infamous to tread." In other words they were not interested in this movement.

Consciously or unconsciously clubs recognize the necessity of congeniality of interests, and realize further that the more the congeniality the sounder is the foundation of the club. Observe the eligibility tests employed by the Daughters of the American Revolution and that type of society as a means of keeping out the undesirables. Social clubs require an extraordinary initiation fee because they want only such as have sufficient wealth to be interesed in the same general atmosphere of recreation and wine. The American Psychological Association requires of candidates that they be of a certain rank in the profession, in order that they may be confident that all members shall have a fundamental interest in the science. College societies, and especially fraternities, generally have a certain individuality. Men of the same type tend to get together. Students recognize this freshman as a typical Tau Delt man or cut out to be a Chresto. Occasionally misfits occur; a man gets into the wrong society. If there are several misfits in the same club the resultant conflict of interests

causes hard feeling, disagreement, inability to co-operate and disruption.

These two psychological factors are necessary as conditions of the club's formation, viz., individual differences in the capacity of leadership, and congeniality of interests. No stable club can be formed unless some one at least of the club is a leader. Settlement workers and club directors learn to recognize this when in artificially grouping boys or girls, leaders have to be provided. Dr. Krackowizer describes two cases of clubs that applied for admission to the Boys' Club of the Oranges, and in both cases the club lasted but a week. The fact was that there were no recognized leaders in either group. The other necessary condition for club organization is congeniality of interests. When both of these conditions are present, and only in such cases is there a possibility of forming a club.

Chap. III. Mental Forces Produced by the Club

It is the province of this chapter to discuss the functional aspect of the club, to study the contribution of the club to mental life. Of those forces resulting from club organization, the one of most general significance is that known as the social stimulus. Although produced by the club it is not peculiar to it, but is in evidence in any group, whether or not the group is organized. The most accurate studies yet made of it are those with school children. Schmidt (72), Meumann (53), Mayer (52), Triplett (83) and others (13 and 14) have demonstrated that in all types of school work, except that requiring individuality, better results can be obtained of children in groups than separately. That this force is something different from the stimulus of competition or ambition is evident from the experience of the actor, singer or lecturer who can play his part better under the stimulus of an audience than with empty seats. The group itself exerts a favorable influence. The stimulus is increased when all the members of the group are performing the same task. This is illustrated by dancing, choral singing, marching in step, as Frederick demonstrated in his army, team work in games or work, shouting at a track meet, a ball game or political rally, paced work in the laboratory or a paced race on the track.

In the club this group stimulus is always present and of greater power than in unorganized groups. In the presence of the members of his own club a man is stimulated to accomplish feats and rise to supremer achievements than would be possible for him to reach in any other presence. Since this product of club organization is shared with every other type of

social life it need be mentioned only incidentally. Of much greater significance are the other forces to be considered, viz., *esprit de corps*, honor and friendship.

Esprit de corps is a sociological form which needs to be translated into psychological processes. As Prof. James pointed out, in his chapter on the "Consciousness of Self:" "In its widest possible sense a man's self is a sum total of all that he calls his, not only his body and his psychic power, but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works, his lands and horses, and yacht and bank-account." (43, p. 201.) The one phrase of this comprehensive self, of interest to us in this connection, is that which refers to the group of family and friends. The child acquires a peculiar sense of belonging to his immediate social group, and as his group enlarges, his sense of belonging widens. There is an attitude of satisfaction in the feeling of belonging to a family or to a community, which is often not recognized until one is isolated, relatives dear or estranged, and the community cold and unappreciative. It is the loneliness that arises when one feels that he does not belong to any particular group that in part explains why so many answers are received to advertisements of matrimonial bureaus.

This sense of belonging is the germ of Baldwin's "socius," which he defines as "the higher sense of commonalty, personal implication, mutual interest which social intercourse arouses in him. He (the boy) has a sense of the socius, for example, when his own school is brought into rivalry with the school around the corner" (7, p. 32). Later, Baldwin says: "The family *esprit de corps* has such a firm root in the breast of the individual that family action is as necessary to him as action in his own private interest." (7. p. 407.) Approaching the subject from a different viewpoint Prof. Ames said in an address at Minneapolis, Dec., 1910:

> "In more sustained associations such as the workmen in a factory experience, in daily contact, and co-operation, in their home life and neighborhood relations—there is built up a more elaborate and persistent class feeling. There is developed a more definite sense of the group, a feeling of loyalty to its members, of obedience to its standards and of devotion to its ideals. They recognize each other with a sense of kinship and exchange of confidence which they would not show toward men of another class. The same fellow-feeling springs up spontaneously in all men of the same trade or profession and among any companies or gangs whose work or fortunes bring them into mutual contact. Over and above their explicit acknowledgment or realization, there is present a powerful group spirit which has sprung up from their association."

Miss Addams points out that one of the most powerful forces pulling the boy to work at fourteen is, if the family purse is small, his loyalty and affection (3, p. 126). Elsewhere in

this wonderfully expressive book, "The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets," she suggests that public games be extended to develop the unity of feeling that is aroused by our one national game (3, p. 96). In no situation is *esprit de corps* more easily aroused than in support of the home team.

A very suggestive treatment of *esprit de corps* is that of Cooley in his "Social Organization:"

> "The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. It is always differentiated and usually a competitive unity, admitting of self-assertion and various appropriative passions; but these passions are socialized by sympathy, and come, or tend to come, under the discipline of a common spirit" (18, p. 23).

He reminds us of how boys will endure cruelty and injustice at the hands of their fellows, such for instance as hazing, rather than appeal from their fellows to their parents or teachers. In such cases the family *esprit de corps* is weaker than that of the student group.

Ross recognizes the same spirit when he writes: "The lively sense of a common life enables mates, kinsfolk, neighbors and comrades to love and understand one another, to yield to one another, and to observe their forbearance and good offices that make associate life a success. In such a case the group does not make the ties; the ties make the group" (65, p. 432).

All these quotations show that no matter what the cause or group of causes effecting the establishment of the group, when once established there is added a new cement to bind it together. Davis expresses it in the following way: "Ideas or sentiments, and also social institutions, when once in existence become thereafter psychic or social factors in all future reactions in essential independence of their origin or their original associations. . . . We see daily private societies formed for all sorts of special purposes, literary, charitable, artistic, political, what not. But an organization has hardly been constituted before it becomes an end as well as a means in the lives of those connected with it; and in that portion of society which it influences the association functions not only as a force for turning social agencies in a special direction beyond itself, but also in part for turning social energy to itself to be absorbed therein" (22, p. 207). It is stated more concretely by Lee: "And the team is not only an extension of the player's consciousness; it is a part of his personality. His participation has deepened from co-operation to membership. Not only is he now a part of the team, but the team is a part of him. Membership becomes a part of a man, an essential part of him, something which cannot be taken away without taking much—indeed

the greater and more significant part—of the man's life with it" (48, p. 490).

Puffer's and Browne's studies show the strong part which loyalty to the group plays. Among many examples given by Browne, is found this: "Boy in D—'s gang stole some cherries. He was reported to the boarding school by the woman who owned the cherries. Her description tallied with that of D—. He was whipped for the offender, although he was not the boy that did it; yet he did not tell on the guilty boy" (12, p. 271). We quoted in the section on gangs Robert Woods's description of loyalty to the gang, and how one boy of his acquaintance, though his family had moved to Dorchester, and he had outgrown the old gang in education, still made it his custom to return to the old corner on Sundays. The blood feud of the Kentucky mountains, the sympathetic strike, refusing to bet against your own college, or turning down the offer of a higher salaried professorship because of loyalty to the old school—scores of illustrations could be piled up to show the working of *esprit de corps;* but these will suffice.

One particular element in *esprit de corps*, present in some more than in others is the feeling that one's own group is better than any other. One's own interest is always more important in his eyes, and more valuable, than that of any other. One's own club is better than any other. This is only a broadening of the positive self-feeling that manifests itself in the feeling that, after all, the things of my own life are of more value for me than are the things of any one else. This is the basal idea in the expression: 'number one first,' or in the instinct of self-preservation. Applied to the group, one of the manifestations of this spirit is in the clique. The differentiating element in this type of group spirit is the feeling of caste, or of exclusiveness and aloofness. This was found in many of the girls' clubs. From our data we cannot entirely agree with O'Shea's observation that: "Until adolescence the child seldom recognizes caste stratification" (58, p. 15). Continuing, he says that dress plays no part in the groupings of boys, and its rôle among girls up to the sixth or seventh grade, is of slight importance. With adolescence comes differentiation of groups on the basis of wealth. Sororities and fraternities grow in high school, or even in the seventh or eighth grade more among girls than among boys. This differentiation takes place more in the social activities than in the games and athletics. Our observation would be that the feeling of caste is present with preadolescents, but becomes stronger at puberty. Sheldon found the expression of caste earlier than puberty. His conclusion was that the feeling of caste reached its culmination at about ten. "While its expression in the form of bullying

and teasing, as might be supposed, is more intensive among boys, the feeling of exclusiveness and pride appears much stronger in girls. Girls, if so told by their mothers, think themselves too good to play with girls of the working classes or of alien nationalities. Boys, on the contrary, will often run away and disobey parental injunctions to get a chance to play football or baseball with boys of any nationality, Italians, Jews, Irish or even negroes" (67, p. 435-36). Our data do not uphold the conclusion that cast feeling culminates at ten, however, but that it grows more intense with age, at least until the end of the high school period, as observations of high school students show.

The statement made above is that the clique spirit is a broadening of positive self-feeling. The process would seem to be this: in the group activity the individual, originally self-centered, by continual buffeting about by other self-centered children, gradually learns to recognize the rights of the others of his group. This process was described in detail above. After a while the children learn to do team work and there develops a feeling that their team is better than any other team; not necessarily that they can play better, but they are better. The native tendency of each individual to regard himself as of more value than others, which is the root of the caste spirit, becomes ascribed to the group, with the result that the individual's own group becomes more valuable in his eyes than any other. The growth of the caste spirit parallels that of co-operative play, which becomes well established by puberty.

The general observation is that the caste spirit is stronger in girls than in boys. May not the explanation be, that, whether or not the girl of to-day is born with that diathesis, woman's experience has been such as to develop the caste spirit in her to a higher degree than man's experience has in him? Through group activity boys and girls alike develop a feeling of superiority as respects their own group. Boys' groups, however, compete constantly with other groups, and the process that went on earlier between individuals now transpires between groups, and a feeling of superiority is developed for a still broader group. Team spirit develops into school spirit, and the spirit of loyalty to, and assumption of superiority to the school, is greater than that to the class. This experience is not generally true of girls. Their loyalty to, and ascription of superiority to their set, remains much stronger than that of boys, and the accompanying fact is that the girls' set has little opportunity to compete with and be defeated by other sets. It has been the writer's experience in a co-educational college that the girls support their class basket ball team as loyally as do the men, but that it is harder

for them to co-operate with their erstwhile opponents to compete against another school than it is for the boys. An incidentally concomitant fact is that girls take defeat harder than do boys. Many other manifestations of this phenomenon might be cited, such as woman's greater family pride, interest in genealogy and the like. Unless by competition with other groups our group becomes disillusioned, this spirit of superiority acquires a very narrow character and a clique is formed. Girls rise to the level of loyalty to a small group and tend to remain on that level, because of lack of competition between groups, while boys get over their clannishness by competition with other groups.

The relationship of the clique spirit to *esprit de corps* is thus evident. *Esprit de corps* is a sentiment that does not exist until the group is formed, but it appears with the group and is one of the strongest forces holding the group together.

Another psychic force peculiar to the group, and of particular importance as a product of club organization, is honor. Simmel shows the intermediacy of honor between morality and criminal law as a determinant of conduct. Morality is the personal standard of behavior; criminal law is that standard required as a minimum by the state. The code of honor is set by the small social group and is different for different groups (69, p. 680-82). The more firmly established the group and the more individual its character, the stronger is the hold it has upon the conduct of its members.

There is a close relationship between *esprit de corps* and honor. In intensity the correlation is direct. The stronger the feeling of attachment the individual has for the group, the more is he bound to conduct himself in accordance with the code of the group. In clubs of long standing, such as the Masonic Order, the code of honor is often of greater strength than is that of morality, when, for example, lodge brothers are shielded from punishment for infractions of law. It is not generally the rule, however, that honor and morality are antagonistic; they usually supplement and reinforce each other. One of the most common features of honor among clubs is this rule which demands that fellow members be assisted in times of adversity, sickness or death in the family, be supported when running for office in the community, be defended from calumny and, as in the case cited above, be shielded from justice. It is not honorable to 'snitch,' or inform the authorities, when one of the gang has done wrong. The gang have their own standards of conduct which concern the essential features of their mutual relationships, and to transcend one of these rules is often to lose membership in the gang. So it is with the 'honor of a gentleman.' To fail in any of its tenets

is to lose caste in that fraternity. In some sections of the country the *esprit de corps* of the group of 'gentlemen' is as strong as that of a sworn brotherhood. Professional honor is particularly strong among physicians. Through this unwritten code incompetent physicians who, because of their ignorance, carelessness or lack of skill, fail to save the lives of their patients, are allowed to continue practicing because no one of their gild will expose them. Another point in their code is the rule of secrecy regarding disease which permits undesirable marriages. In the profession of law the code of honor is formulated in written rules. It is acknowledged by this code that a lawyer may undertake with propriety the defense of a person accused of crime, although he knows or believes him guilty. As an individual member of society governed by the standards of morality the lawyer believes this guilty man should be punished; as a lawyer, governed by the standards of honor in his profession, he is bound to exert himself to the utmost to prevent the fulfillment of justice. So each well organized club and each well defined social group has its code of honor. Reacting upon the club the effect of honor is to strengthen the ties that bind it together; as to its influence upon the social organism as a whole we need not here lay emphasis. Few moralists, however, have recognized how large that influence is in determining conduct.

Another factor, the effect of which is to solidify the once formed group, is friendship. To be sure, in children's clubs a condition of friendship exists before the club is formed. This is not always the case with adults. When such a group forms a club, friendship arises as a result of association in a common task. Jones has called this emotion the feeling of attachment (45, p. 60-79), which is another expression for the feeling of belonging, which was made the basal element in *esprit de corps*. This sociological mode and that of friendship have the same psychological foundation. As Cooley puts it: "Group sentiment, in so far as it is aroused by definite images, is only a variety of personal sentiment" (18, p. 79). Being admitted to a club arouses a feeling of attachment for the group; in a similar way, though to a more intense degree, being admitted to the confidence of another person arouses a feeling of attachment. Jane Addams says that: "no two persons, nor group of persons can come into affectionate relationship with each other unless they carry on together a mutual task" (4, p. 271).

The origin of personal affection is to be found in the relationship of mother and child, as Sutherland has proved with a wealth of data (79). Love is developed through service. Ribot states it in this way: "It is an observed fact that a man attaches himself to another in proportion to the service he renders,

rather than to those he receives from him" (63, p. 294). However the feeling of attachment may arise, its intensification is accomplished by the same process the race experienced, namely in service. Service has another effect, moreover, which it is important to consider in this connection. The mental process of doing things for another person develops not only a feeling of attachment for that person, but a subordination of self to that person. So also when one works for a group or for a cause. Thus friendship and *esprit de corps* each presuppose an *Einstellung* that is characterized by unselfishness. It therefore becomes made more evident that these two forces do have a powerful influence in the preservation of the club. These mental processes are the *sine qua non* of co-operation.

In this connection the relationship of chumship (if we may be permitted to coin the term) and the club is *en rapport.* Bonser's study of this type of friendship showed that chumming begins before four years; with girls the age of greatest frequency is six; with boys the curve rises more slowly, reaching its apex at ten. These friendships, as a rule, continue unbroken at least until the latter high school years, which was the age of the boys and girls when they reported. This shows that the feeling of attachment for individuals appears earlier than for institutions or groups. There appears to be no conflict between the institutions of chumship and the club. Bonser found the existence of chumships almost universal. The great majority of children also belong to clubs. The general situation would appear to be as it is described by one reporter: "Every girl has her special friend, some one to whom she tells everything. They can have fine times together, but if they belong to a club and make friends with the other girls, they have many friends besides each other."

Chap. IV. Other Mental Forces which Aid the Continuation of the Club

Aside from those dynamic processes which produce the club, and aside from the forces which owe their existence to the club, there are other forces which, if present, favor the continuation of the club's life, viz., those that appeal to fundamental human needs, furnish expression to native impulses or satisfy instincts. The discussion of the more important of these forces, as employed by the club, is the task of this chapter; love of the mysterious, the satisfaction of positive self-feeling, acquisitiveness and curiosity by secrecy and ritualism; satiating the desire to realize the ideal through the dramatic features; satisfaction of religious and altruistic tendencies in philanthropic and religious activities; fulfilling

the demands for recreation and physical exercise through athletics, sports and games of chance and skill; and answering these and other needs by the flamboyancy of big titles, benevolence and life insurance, literary, art and musical features. Clubs may consciously aim to satisfy these needs or may do so incidentally; they may plan deliberately to accomplish these ends, or they may accept these features as the force of contagion. Again the same activity may satisfy different needs in different individuals or groups. Secrecy, for instance, plays a distinctly different rôle in the fraternal order to-day than it played in the heretical sects of the Reformation. The need of protection, moreover, is more fully satisfied by secrecy in the *Camorra* or any anti-social organization to-day than it is in the Masonic Order.

For the sake of clearness it will prove more effective to centre the discussion about the different activities and practices of clubs than to discuss the different instinctive tendencies separately. The first of these to be treated is secrecy. Historically the principal rôle of secrecy has been the provision of protection to the members of an order joined together for some motive opposed by the powers, or by some power strong enough to be given attention. In modern society some of the best examples are given by the secret societies organized for the purpose of discussing heretical beliefs about religion, politics, philosopy and science, such as *Der Palmbaum*, the Anabaptists, Waldensians and the orders of the *Illuminati* (17 and 37). In America to-day there is no need of secrecy in order to avoid suppression of religious, political or intellectual societies. The anti-social clubs of thieves, pickpockets, tramps and other outlaws are the only organizations in which this human need is supplied by secrecy. Criminology furnishes a great variety of usages of secrecy as a means of protection. Havelock Ellis gives illustrations of the type of slang or argot used, which is peculiar to their class, and entirely unintelligible to any but those in the bond (25, p. 161-69). Gross in his Kriminal-Psychologie refers to the use of *sprachliche Missverständniss*, a use of language in such a way that the hearer knows that the meaning is something other than that spoken, and the speaker knows that the hearer will understand him as meaning something different than what is said (33, p. 383). The Handbook of Criminal Investigation (32) describes the disguises, false names, pretended illnesses, signs and signals, slang, ciphers, secret writings and graphic signs, used by criminals and tramps.

But secrecy is still a very prominent element in many of our clubs, among both adults and children. This suggests that it serves other needs than protection. One of these which it

feeds is positive self-feeling. On this point, Simmel, who has given us the best discussion of the sociology of secrecy, says: "There is separation from others because there is unwillingness to give oneself a character common with that of others, because there is a desire to signal one's superiority as compared with these others. . . As a consequence of the fact that those who want to distinguish themselves enter into combination, there results an aristocracy which strengthens and, so to speak, expands the self-consciousness of the individuals through the weight of their own sum. . . We may observe, even in school classes, how small, closely attached groups of comrades, through the mere formal fact that they form a special group, come to consider themselves an élite, compared with the rest who are unorganized; while the latter, by their enmity and jealousy, involuntarily recognize that higher value. In these cases secrecy and pretense of secrecy (*Geheimnistnerei*) are means of building higher the wall of separation, and therein a reinforcement of the aristocratic nature of the group" (76, p. 486-87). Simmel would give a different account of the development of the clique than seems to us to be its genetic history, but his emphasis of secrecy is very patent. An illustration of what Simmel describes is provided in this description of a ten year old girl's club: "We were very select and had many secrets which we were sure to mention when there was any one around whom we wanted to make jealous." That is, positive self-feeling, in the form of a feeling of superiority is satisfied. But this reveals the fact that the secret has intrinsic value, which fact introduces another element.

Acquisitiveness, or the desire to possess, is tickled by the possession of a secret. To have a secret is to have something some one else wants and therefore it is of some worth. Sometimes the whole value of a secret is the fact that those outside the compact do not know it and want to. That is, curiosity is aroused, and anything that arouses curiosity is of value, as the proprietors of dime museums and side-shows well know. 'The people like to be fooled;' that is, they know that they will be made to feel foolish, but their curiosity is so strong they cannot resist the temptation to satisfy it. Children unconsciously recognize this when they invent sign languages, peculiar gestures of the hands, carry on nonsense gibberish and unintelligible whisperings. An instance of this kind was recorded above.

To answer the question: why does the secret arouse curiosity? is to disclose the primary source of value, namely the love of the mysterious. As shown by the mystic in religious, by spiritism, telepathy, slight of hand and conjuring, the mask ball and ghost stories and fairy tales, the love of the mysteri-

ous is a strong motive power. It is this which furnishes the energy which runs most of the machinery of secrecy. As it works out, it involves other fundamental tendencies; first, curiosity, which becomes involved in acquisitiveness, and this in positive self-feeling.

The different stages of this process are illustrated by these examples: The illustration referred to above shows the love of the mysterious. This report shows the value of it in holding the club together. "The first club to which I belonged was composed of five little girls. Each member wore a badge of blue and yellow ribbon. It was a secret society. We met in the afternoon after school and just had a good time enjoying games and other amusements. This club only lasted three weeks because some of its members, who were six and seven years of age, made the secret known to the public in general." In many cases the content of the secret is of no importance. The first thing to appear is the fact of the secret; afterwards the secret acquires content. The that is at first of more importance than the what. This is illustrated in a club of girls nine and ten years of age. "About six or seven of us who always played together wanted to have a secret. This part was voluntary, but we could n't think of a nice enough secret, so one of our mothers suggested that we should always be good friends. The rest was all voluntary such as wearing little bows and having parties. I think this lasted about a year." The same condition is very nearly paralleled in the adult organization. Joseph C. Root founded and wrote the ritual for two absolutely distinct secret societies, the Modern Woodmen of America and the Woodmen of the World, and was also a member of the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, the United Workmen, the American Legion of Honor, and was a thirty-second degree Scottish Rite Mason. It is quite evident that the content of the ritual is of less importance than the fact that there is one. The ritual is a secret, the possession of which makes the order richer in its assets. Freemasonry itself owes not a little of its prestige to the profoundness of its secrecy. Yet in progressive Masonry the roll of membership, its purposes and acts are public property; silence is required solely in regard to its sacred rites. The same thing is true of student societies. Sudermann in the drama, "Der Sturmgeselle Socrates," tells a fine story of a group of men who continue in their old age to get immense satisfaction out of a secret society formed during their student days. Then there was reason for the secrecy; now it is absolutely unnecessary, and yet it constitutes the chief *raison d'être* of the club. Stevens describes over thirty occult, hermetic, theosophic or religious brotherhoods in which the love of the mysterious plays the most important rôle (76). The very naming of college societies feeds the love of mystery, as illustrated by the Greek letters, the 'Skull and Bones' and 'Scroll and Key.'

The next step in development in the usage of secrecy is taken when it becomes used to satisfy acquisitiveness. This is illustrated in its primitiveness by the following:

"When I was about nine years old, five girls and myself formed a club. It was known as the Contrary Girls Club, or C. G. C. Our main object was to get as many secrets as we could during the week, and then on Saturday afternoon we would meet and tell our secrets. The ones we considered the most important we would give some certain initial or initials, and then record them in a book."

It is then but a step from this stage to that characterized by the aristocratic feeling, the latter being the feeling of being better than the other fellow, the former being the desire

to possess. The former is therefore the servant of the latter, since in our society rank is correlative with possession. The desire to possess something of value, be it nothing more than a secret, may thus be in motivation subordinate to the desire to rise in social rank. This is illustrated in student fraternities. Not their only feature, to be sure, and in the published intention not at all present, are those two motives. But in actual practise it works that way. The fact that a society is secret makes it stand out prominently in the foreground of the desirable social states. And this prominence encourages aristocracy. When the experience of the individuals thus raised into prominence has been broad enough to have toned down their primeval feeling of superiority, both in regard to themselves and to their group, the effect is good; if, on the other hand, this rise into prominence be made by less mature or less experienced minds, the effect on their view of the world is detrimental. The former is the aristocracy which should be emulated, the evolution of a group to a higher cultural plane; the latter is the false aristocracy which exhibits itself in snobbishness, bigheadedness and in extreme cases, megalomania. We find here the psychological reason why fraternities are detrimental in high schools. Boys and girls are too young, as a rule, to be able to experience the feeling of superiority, engendered by the prominent position which is the result of secrecy. This prominence, too, is extraordinarily increased because the other students are of the same age as the members of the fraternity, and their envy of the members of the secret organization is stronger than it would be at any other period of life. The same snobbishness, however, is produced by victory in athletics. Where fraternities exist the condition is made worse because of the fact that the man placed in an enviable position through athletic prowess is the most desirable candidate for the fraternity, and the cumulative resultant is a snob of the choicest variety, unless he be equaled by the snob of newly acquired wealth. Approximately the same importance is given to athletics and social life in college as in high school, but the effect in college is much less aggravating, because of the greater maturity of the students. The high school boy, who has been the easy victor in all contests, on entering college learns that there are others just as fleet, just as clever, and in all probability a few who are even brighter. A few defeats cures his youthful self-regard. In adult life, entrance into a secret order does not, as a rule, produce this deleterious effect of the high school age, because men are then old enough to be able to experience prominence without becoming conceited, and also because the prominence is less, on account of the ease with which men can become members of secret orders.

It should be mentioned that while the prominence of secrecy in children's societies is due to these fundamental human needs which are satisfied, the form that secrecy takes is due largely to contagion. By far the greater part of the secret features here found are the result of imitation. Many have secret names, passwords, rituals, secret signs and other mysteries as a result of the fact that they know adult clubs have them.

Dramatic Features. Closely allied with the secret elements of the club are the dramatic features. By the dramatic features we mean all those attributes which appeal to the love of the make-believe. We need not delay to emphasize the fact that the pleasure in the make-believe, whether the subject takes part in the acting, or merely witnesses the acting of others, is an universal one. Miss Addams points out in a charming way the place this craving holds in adolescence, and that the reason why it is so exceedingly strong among the workers of the city is that the drama provides a transition between the romantic conceptions which they vainly struggle to keep intact and life's cruelties and trivialities which they refuse to admit. The satisfaction of the make-believe in the form of reading and reverie is denied them. But on the stage the youth can witness the deeds of his hero presented before his eyes; these he views simply as a forecast of his own future. This fascinating view of his own career it is which draws the boy to shows of all kinds (3).

The club to some extent satisfies this need. It provides a great hierarchy of offices and degrees.

Europe has its pageantry and titled nobility, its Order of the Bath and Garter, the Legion of Honor and Iron Cross. Americans satisfy this underlying human need by parades of Knights Templars, Elks and Odd Fellows, in which thousands put on sword and silk and scarf. They create for themselves such titles as Official Potentate, Imperial Deputy Potentate, Imperial Chief Rabban, Imperial High Priest and Prophet, Imperial Oriental Guide, Imperial First Ceremonial Master, as in the Nobles of the Mystic Shrine; the Grand Exalted Ruler, High Chief Ranger, Keeper of the Exchequer, Grand Almoner, or, as in the Imperial Order of Red Men, the Grand Incohoner, Great Senior Sagamore and Great Keeper of the Wampum. These titles, representative of hundreds, are well ridiculed in the following offices: Cock of the Walk, Bantam Cock, Chief Scratcher, and Early Bird, in the Order of Red Roosters, and Most Loyal Gander, Grand Custodian of the Goslings, Supervisor of the Flock, Grand Guardian of the Pond, and Grand Wielder of the Goose Quill, in the Order of the Red Goose. The love of the make-believe underlies the organization of the Concatenated Order of Hoo Hoo, the Prudential Patriarchs of Pompeii, the Knights and Ladies of the Golden Star and many others that might be mentioned.

Examination of the rituals, based on secret and secular themes, such as the story of the cross, building of the temple, David and Jonathan, Joseph, the Maccabees, Ben Hur, facts of United States history, nomad life, the friendship of Damon and Pythias and the crusades are used to increase both

the mysterious and the dramatic elements in the club organization. Commenting on the ritual, Simmel says: "Every such society (a secret society with a ritual) contains a measure of freedom, which is not really provided for in the structure of the surrounding society. Whether the secret society, like the *Vehme* complements the inadequate judicature of the political area; or whether, as in the case of conspiracies or criminal bands, it is an uprising against the law of that area; or whether, as in the case of the 'mysteries,' they hold themselves outside of the commands and prohibitions of the greater area—in either case the apartness (*Heraussonderung*) which characterizes the secret society has the tone of a freedom" (70, p. 483). In other words, the secret society with its ritual transcends the humdrum, hard and fast facts of everyday life, and forces open the gates into the realm of the ideal, the world of the imaginative, the make-believe. Read over the names of the degrees in Scottish rite Freemasonry, from the highest level of Sovereign Grand Inspector General down through the thirty-three stata, some of which are, Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret, Grand Elect Knight Kadosch, Knight of the Brazen Serpent, Patriarch Noachite, Knight of the Rose Croix, Prince of Jerusalem and Grand Elect Perfect and Sublime Mason.

Forbush recognized this need, when he organized the Knights of King Arthur for boys, with their round table, their formality, ritual and titled officialdom (26). Consciously or unconsciously the Boy Scouts recognize it in their provision for hero-worhip, for playing at Indian life, at military drill and first aid to the injured. These activities satisfy the 'dramatic instinct.' Labor unions have introduced many of the features of the secret brotherhoods, such as 'riding the goat,' high sounding titles ritual, passwords, etc. Their fundamental purpose certainly has no connection with satisfying the dramatic instinct. In actual practise it is found that those unions are most successful which minister most widely to the needs of its members. Among these is the demand of the dramatic instinct.

Walter B. Hill calls the institution of the club the great American safety-valve (39). The teaching of our public schools is that any man may become president, when as a matter of fact they can't all be presidents. Hill says: "I made a test case of a small town, and found that every man, woman, and child (above ten years of age) in the place held an office—with the exception of a few scores of flabby jelly-fish characters, whose lack of ambition or enterprise removes them from consideration as elements of the problem. . . Here then we have the great American safety-valve—we are a nation of presidents." Holding office satisfies the love of the make-believe, and incidentally, as other drama does, it trains for the real.

Besides these indirect ministrations to the call of the make-believe, it is directly satisfied in all sorts of clubs by participation in the presentation of drama, readings and entertainments. By these dramatic features clubs increase their influence and perpetuate their life.

Other Features. The quotation from Mr. Hill introduces us to another set of factors used by the club. Holding office not only satisfies the dramatic impulse, but it is a sort of subtle

flattery; it gives a realization of greatness, through cajoling positive self-feeling. The more flamboyant the titles, the more the feeling of superiority is tickled. This is not identical with the love of the make-believe, as is shown by the fact that there is satisfaction in playing the villain. Other means of adding to the satisfaction of this self-centered feeling are the addition of those agencies which actually do improve the individual status, financially, socially, intellectually, morally, etc. The beneficiary and insurance features directly improve financial status. Membership in fraternal orders, as well as in religious and social clubs, is oftentimes sought purely to improve one's business connections. Social status is acquired by the same means. And here we class the purely social clubs. Self-improvement is made a strong motive for joining the club, by its provision of education specifically in literature, art, drama, music and physical culture, and more generally in every subject of interest through the intercourse of conversation, discussion and set lectures. Thus the club aids the individual to gain a living, to improve his social status and to raise his general efficiency.

It might be a matter of debate whether the religious and altruistic elements in clubs should be classed with those in the preceding paragraph, or whether they should be treated as satisfying an impulse, distinct from that of positive self-feeling. We will not argue that point. The fact remains that the club does in many ways satisfy the needs expressed by these feelings. The religious and philanthropic societies do this directly; the fraternal societies have many religious elements, for instance the Masons, the Knights of Malta, and the Odd Fellows, whose motto is 'Friendship, Love and Faith.' Another feature of the club, about which there is similar difficulty of classification is the recreative, the provision of muscular exercise, mental relaxation, and games of chance or skill. The characteristic of this group of activities is the hygienic element. The result is self-improvement, yet the feeling satisfied is different in each case. Here, too, there are clubs formed entirely for athletics, as there are found those primarily altruistic and social. Every club which has a building or grounds of its own aims to satisfy this type of need.

But the club also satisfies at least one other instinct. Constructiveness is well fed in the activities of such men as Root, Clendenen, Upchurch, and the other organizers and ritual writers. There must glow in the breast of these constructive geniuses some such fire as Pres. Hall ascribes to the novitiate into the class of contributors to science after the production of his doctor's thesis. There is surely a peculiar joy that comes from the successful formation of a new organization, and a

great many thousands have had the privilege of being charter members of clubs of all kinds in the last few decades.

Another force unconsciously employed by the club, which has the effect of strengthening the group spirit, is that of opposition and conflict.

Struggle is a stimulus to growth. The mind, like the body, needs continual peripheral stimulation to keep awake. One of the chief services of the school examination is that it is a continual spur, keeping one at the height of working capacity. It brings the realization of the possibility of failure, and the desire to succeed and excel makes a conflict, a game, a contest of study, with big obstacles to overcome. Similar is the effect produced by the effort to attain some definite end, whatever be its nature. To have a purpose, whether it be to build up a business, to support a family and raise children, to excel in the profession, to have a real work to do gives zest to life and increases efficiency. This much is true of opposition in its effect on the individual.

Opposition to a group from without has a similar effect. Persecution always strengthens the ties between those oppressed. Minor differences are overlooked in the light of the greater need which cries out for unity. Some families can only be united by sorrow in the death of one of their number, or by some other great calamity, such as a scandal, when, as with political opponents, there is unity in the face of foreign war. External opposition has the effect of throwing into relief the stronger *esprit de corps*.

This is clearly seen with fraternities, particularly those among high school students. The feeling of unity among the members is only magnified by the fact that they have a common enemy who would destroy their club. Persecution of a religious sect strengthens it, unless it be strong enough to annihilate it, not merely because opposition gives more meaning to the religion, but also because it draws the members into closer fellowship.

A different psychic process is involved when there is antagonism between the members of the group. If this is too strong the group is broken up. But in moderate degrees it has the effect of strengthening it by providing what Simmel calls "one of those contrast-stimuli evidently demanded by the innermost needs of the unifying social bond, because there, as elsewhere, the permanent can emerge and come to conscious force only as a function of the changeable" (69, p. 48). This is as true of the social bonds existing between individuals as those binding large numbers. Periods of quarrel and disagreement seem to be a regular experience of lovers and of married couples. These estrangements are followed by reac-

tions when the bond of unity is stronger than before the quarrel, the effect of the quarrel being to bring into consciousness the realization of the misery which would ensue if the bond were permanently broken, against which dark background is thrown the bright picture of the happiness which characterizes their union. The psychic process appears to be the same with the members of a club. Difference of opinion regarding policies is necessary for the purpose of making definite the real object of the organization. The club would die of stagnation, as many churches in fact do, were there no differences between its members.

General Summary

The description of the psychological elements utilized by the club has involved at least the mention of most of the social qualities possessed by man. The club in present day America is indeed a broad institution. Its broadest foundation is laid in sociability. Whether or not other sentiments are involved, this is always present. Unsociable individuals never form clubs. Sociability is therefore the most fundamental of all the forces which produce the club. It may be supplemented either by contagion or deliberation or both. Either combination will produce the club. Other forces may assist, such, for instance, as the feeling of personal attachment between individuals, but this is not essential. These being the forces, there are certain conditions necessary before their functioning will produce the club, those conditions being individual differences in the capacity for leadership and congeniality of interests. The club being organized begets other psychic forces of which we have discussed the social stimulus, *esprit de corps*, honor, and friendship. Besides these forces, clubs, either by their nature, or unconsciously, employ other factors which, by appealing to native tendencies, strengthen the club; such factors as secrecy, ritualism and dramatic features, agencies for self-advancement, financially, in status and in efficiency, religious and altruistic features, the provision of possibilities of recreation, athletics, games and amusements, and the force of opposition. Though the aim of this paper has been to make a contribution to the science of social psychology, it is hoped that, if the conclusions herein reached be valid, they may be of some suggestiveness to all who are interested in the formation of clubs, whether formed by any group for their own ends, or by adults for boys and girls.

Bibliography

1. Addams, Jane. Democracy and Social Ethics. Macmillan, N. Y., 1907, 277 p.
2. —— ——. Newer Ideals of Peace. Macmillan, N. Y., 1907, 437 p.

3. ADDAMS, JANE. The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets. Macmillan, N. Y., 1909, 162 p.
4. —— ——. Twenty Years at Hull-house. Macmillan, N. Y., 1910, 462 p.
5. ALDRICH, T. B. The Story of a Bad Boy. Houghton, Boston, 1897, 261 p.
6. BAIRD, W. R. Baird's Manual of American College Fraternities. Alcolm, N. Y., 1907, 574 p.
7. BALDWIN, J. M. Social and Ethical Interpretations of Mental Development. Macmillan, N. Y., 1897, 606 p.
8. —— ——. The Individual and Society. Badger, Boston, 1911, 210 p.
9. —— ——. The Basis of Social Solidarity. *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, 1910, vol. 15, pp. 817-31.
10. BLACK, HUGH. Friendship. Revell, N. Y., 1898, 237 p.
11. BONSER, F. G. Chums; a study in youthful friendships. *Ped. Sem.*, 1902, vol. 9, pp. 221-37.
12. BROWNE, T. J. Clan or Gang Instinct in Boys. *Association Sem.*, 1900, vol. 9, 65 p.
13. BURNHAM, W. H. The Group as a Stimulus to Mental Activity. *Science, N. S.*, 1910, vol. 31, pp. 761-67.
14. —— ——. The Hygiene of Home Study. *Ped Sem.*, 1905, vol. 12, pp. 213-30.
15. CALKINS, M. W. A First Book in Psychology. Macmillan, N. Y., 1910, 419 p.
16. Carnegie Institution of Washington. Handbook of Learned Societies and Institutions. 1908, 592 p.
17. CONRADI, EDWARD. Academies and Learned Societies in Early Times. *Ped. Sem.*, 1905, vol. 12, pp. 384-427.
18. COOLEY, C. H. Human Nature and the Social Order. Scribner's, N. Y., 1902, 413 p.
19. —— ——. Social Organization. Scribner's, N. Y., 1909, 426 p.
20. CULIN, STEWART. Street Games in Brooklyn, N. Y. *Jour. of Am. Folk-Lore* 1891, vol. 4, pp. 221-37.
21. DARWIN, CHAS. Biographical Sketch of an Infant. *Mind, O. S.*, 1877, vol. 2, pp. 285-94.
22. DAVIS, M. M. Psychological Interpretations of Society. Longmans, N. Y., 1909, 260 p.
23. DEWEY, JOHN. Interest as Related to Will. 2nd Supplement to the Herbart Yearbook for 1895, Chicago, 34 p.
24. —— ——. Interpretation of Savage Mind. *Psych. Rev.*, 1902, vol. 9, pp. 217-30.
25. ELLIS, HAVELOCK. The Criminal. Scribner's, N. Y., 1890, 327 p.
16. FORBUSH, W. B. The Boy Problem. Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1907, 210 p.
17. —— ——. The Social Pedagogy of Boyhood. *Ped. Sem.*, 1900, vol. 7, pp. 307-46.
28. GALTON, FRANCIS. Inquiries into Human Faculty. Macmillan, London, 1883, 387 p.
29. GIDDINGS, F. H. The Principles of Sociology. Macmillan, N. Y., 1909, 476 p.
30. GILLIN, J. L. A Contribution to the Sociology of Sects. *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, 1910, vol. 16, pp. 236-53.
31. GROOS, CARL. The Play of Man. Appleton, N. Y., 1901, 412 p.
32. GROSS, HANS. Criminal Investigation. A Practical Handbook. Specialist Press, London, 1907, 889 p.
33. —— ——. Kriminal-Psychologie. Vogel, Leipzig, 1905, 701 p.
34. GULICK, L. H. Psychological, Pedagogical and Religious Aspects of Group Games. *Ped. Sem.*, 1899, vol. 6, pp. 135-51.

35. HALL, G. S. Adolescence. Appleton, N. Y., 1907, 2 vols.
36. ——— ———. The Story of a Sand-Pile. *Scribner's Mag.*, 1888, vol. 3, pp. 690-95.
37. HARTSON, L. D. A Study of Voluntary Associations, Educational and Social, in Europe During the Period 1100-1700. *Ped. Sem.*, 1911, vol. 18, pp. 10-31.
38. HAUPTMANN, G. Lonely Lives, A Drama. Heinemann, London, 1898, 179 p.
39. HILL, W. B. The Great American Safety Valve. *Century*, 1892, vol. 22, pp. 383-84.
40. HOLLANDER, J. H. and BARNETT, G. E. Studies in American Trade Unionism. Holt, N. Y., 1906, 380 p.
41. HOWELLS, W. D. A Boys' Town. Harper, N. Y.
42. HUTTON, L. A Boy I Knew and Three Dogs. Harper, N. Y., 1898.
43. JAMES, WILLIAM. The Principles of Psychology. Holt, N. Y., 1890, 2 vols.
44. JOHNSON, J. H. Rudimentary Society Among Boys. *Hopkins Studies in Hist. and Pol. Sci.* Baltimore, 2nd series, 1884, 51 p.
45. JONES, J. W. L. Sociality and Sympathy. *Psych. Rev. Supplements*, 1903, vol. 5, no. 18, 91 p.
46. KIRKPATRICK, E. A. Fundamentals of Child Study. Macmillan, N. Y., 1907, 384 p.
47. KROPOTKIN, P. Mutual Aid a Factor of Evolution. Heinemann, London, 1902, 348 p.
48. LEE, JOSEPH. Play as a School of the Citizen: *Char.*, 1907, vol. 18, pp. 486-91.
49. MCDOUGALL, WM. An Introduction to Social Psychology. Methuen, London, 1908, 355 p.
50. MCGEE, ZACH. A Study in the Play Life of Some South Carolina Children. *Ped. Sem.*, 1900, vol. 7, pp. 459-79.
51. MAXWELL, W. H. Twelfth Annual Report of the City Superintendent, City of New York, 1910, 656 p.
52. MAYER, AUGUST. Ueber Einzel-und Gesamtleistung des Schulkindes. Sammlung von Abhandlungen zur Psychologischen Pädagogik, 1. 4. Leipzig, 1904.
53. MEUMANN, E. Haus-und Schularbeit. *Die Deutsche Schule*, June, 1904, pp. 337-59.
54. MEYER, B. F. Fraternal Beneficiary Societies. *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, 1901, vol. 6, pp. 646-61.
55. MORRISON, G. B. Report of Committee on Fraternities. *Proc. of N. E. A.*, 1905. pp. 445-51.
56. MUMFORD, EBEN. The Origins of Leadership. Univ. Press, Chicago, 1909. 87 p.
57. N. Y. State Dept. of Labor Bulletin, 1910, vol. 12, no. 45.
58. O'SHEA, M. V. Social Development and Education. Houghton, Boston, 1909, 561 p.
59. PEREZ, BERNARD. The First Three Years of Childhood. Bardeen, Syracuse, 1889, 294. p.
60. PREYER, J. A. Mental Development in the Child. Appleton, N. Y., 1893, 170 p.
61. PUFFER, J. A. Boys' Gangs. *Ped. Sem.*, 1905. vol. 12, pp. 175-213.
62. RATZELHOFER, G. Die Sociologische Erkenntniss. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1898, 372 p.
63. RIBOT, TH. The Psychology of the Emotions. Scribner's, London, 1898, 455 p.
64. RIIS, J. A. How the Other Half Lives. Scribner's, N. Y., 1890, 304 p.
65. ROSS, E. A. Social Control. Macmillan, N. Y., 1904, 463 p.
66. SCOTT, J. H. The Social Instinct and its Development in Boy Life. *Association Sem.*, 1905, vol. 13, 46 p.

67. SHELDON, H. D. Institutional Activities of American Children. *Am. Jour. Psych.*, 1898, vol. 9, pp. 428-48.
68. ——— ———. The History and Pedagogy of American Student Societies. Appleton, N. Y., 1901, 366 p.
69. SIMMEL, GEORG. The Persistence of Groups. *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, 1898, vol. 3, pp. 662-98; pp. 829-36; vol. 4, pp. 35-50.
70. ——— ———. The Sociology of Secrecy. *Am. Jour. Sociol.*, 1906, vol. 11, pp. 441-98.
71. SLOSSON, E. E. Great American Universities. Macmillan, N. Y., 1910, 528 p.
72. SCHMIDT, FRIEDRICH. Experimentelle Untersuchungen über die Hausaufgaben des Schulkindes. 1, 3. Leipzig, 1904, 120 p.
73. SMITH, S. R. Report of the Committee on the Influence of Fraternities in Secondary Schools, *School Rev.*, 1905, vol. 13, pp. 1-10.
74. Spectator, The. *The Outlook*, 1907, vol. 87, pp. 769-70.
75. STANTON, E. C., ANTHONY, S. B., and GAGE, M. J. History of Woman Suffrage. Mann, Rochester, 1889-1902, 4 vols.
76. STEVENS, A. C. The Cyclopedia of Fraternities. Treat, N. Y., 1907, 444 p.
77. SUDERMANN, HERMANN. Der Sturmgeselle Sokrates. Cotta, Stuttgart, 1903, 170 p.
78. SULLY, JAMES. Studies of Childhood. Appleton, N. Y., 1896, 527 p.
79. SUTHERLAND, A. The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct. Longmans, London, 1898, 2 vols.
80. TARDE, GABRIEL. The Laws of Imitation. Holt, N. Y., 1903, 404 p,
81. TITCHENER, E. B. A Textbook of Psychology. Macmillan, N. Y.. 1910, 558 p.
82. TOLSTOI, L. War and Peace. Complete Works. Crowell, N. Y., 1898, 6 vols.
83. TRIPLETT, N. The Dynamogenic Factors in Pace-Making and Competition. *Am. Jour. Psych.*, 1898, vol. 9, pp. 507-33.
84. VARENDONCK, J. Les Sociétés D'Enfants. A questionnaire. *Arch. de Psychologie*, 1910, vol. 9, pp. 134-38.
85. WARNER, C. D. Being a Boy. Houghton, Boston, 1889. 244 p.
86. WHITCOMB, C. T. C. Report on Organizations among High School Students. 69th Mass. Report of Education, 1904-05, pp. 180-98.
87. WOODS, ROBERT. The City Wilderness. Houghton, Boston, 1909, 319 p.
88. World Almanac and Encyclopedia. Press Pub. Co., N. Y., 1911, 816 p.
89. Y. M. C. A. of Mass. and R. I. Report of the Committee on Fraternity and Social Life in High Schools. MS., 1909, 25 p.

BOOK NOTES

Principles of Education, by FREDERICK ELMER BOLTON. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910. xii, 790 p.

The author in his preface states that he feels the need of a book on educational principles. He gets this view from ten years actual classroom experience in teaching the subject. The text is not meant to give recipes for ailments in our educational system; it is rather to produce an interest for beginners in the study of educational science. The author has not tried to make a book to suit the "logic chopper," nor to lay down principles in their abstract forms; for the beginner cannot understand them and the advanced student does not need them set down in a book. In the introductory chapter he gives the general principles of his scheme; through the succeeding 27 chapters he develops them more fully.

First, the popular view of education,—book facts, formal drill, and discipline,—is far too narrow. The new interpretation is that education elevates or debases, and that many factors enter in, to determine the education a child receives. The home training, plays, games, sports and pastimes are very important in bringing out latent capabilities and stimulating new ones. "In determining a boy's moral attitude and action the neighborhood environment and the neighbors' boys are far more influential than the school." (p. 3.) The farm, because of its immediate and prolonged contact with nature, offers the best possible preliminary nourishment for the understanding and appreciation of science, literature and art. The playground function as an educational factor is just beginning to be realized. Some of our school work and formal education may become obsolete, but play never does.

The school is relatively a new institution. Its aim is to aid preparation for complete living. Education began long before the school came. The rise from savagery to civilization was throughout an educational process. In fact, nature assigned the lessons and gave the credits, man's food, clothing, amusements and intellectual advances, with the watchword *utility*, which should be the watchword of the schoolmaster. The school should be the guide, the standard bearer of the highest ideals of the present and the past; the child life, the central figure. The business of the educator is to maximize the desirable features and to minimize the undesirable features of inheritance (and environment, the reviewer suggests), and to initiate new tendencies.

The superlative problem is to influence mind to produce modification of the intellectual, emotional and volitional life. Thus the psychological aspects of education are given a relatively large space.

In the first seven chapters, based upon biological facts, the line of thought is well chosen, and the discussion abounds in good illustrations and suggestions. The remaining chapters contain many well developed points, a few examples of which are:

1. A knowledge of recapitulation (and child development) makes the teacher more sympathetic towards the restless and awkward child. At first, only coarser movements, then later, finer physical adjustments can be made. Observation should be the first mental work. Organization and scientific thinking must come later. (pp. 98-135.)

2. Teachers should watch for signs of fatigue, and avoid much strain, in order to accomplish most for the child. (p. 267.)

3. Have the pupil state new facts in his own words, thus making sure that he understands; also it will aid him in remembering the facts. He perceives, he apprehends, he remembers and is educated. (pp. 360, 392.)

4. The pupil needs time to think. He should think over and over each series of new facts. Teach effective thinking,—organize, hypothesize, and then verify. (pp. 383, 600.)

5. The above principle, if observed, creates a "headway of interest." (p. 612.)

6. A strong "headway of interest" in one's own activities usually prepares the way for interest in others, precedes altruism, morality, and society. (p. 677.)

Especial credit should be given for the chapter,—The Nature of Thinking. Every teacher and student would do well to read it.

Minor criticisms may be made: (1) that in a few places, *a*, the organization of the material is loose, *b*, the principle derived is not as clearly stated as it should be, sometimes no conclusion being stated; (2) a summary and concluding chapter of his most valued points should be given briefly, so that the reader may easily verify and review the notions he has gained from the reading; and (3) a volume of 800 pages should have more than a topical and author index.

More urgent criticisms are that quotations in some places are given without their proper setting, and not all arguments are carefully weighed; otherwise some would be omitted from this spacious text-book. An example of incorrect use of quotation is the one from Pierson (p. 196), to show that mental characteristics are inherited. It should be noted that Pierson took no account of environmental influences in the study here referred to, and thus the quotation cannot correctly be used as it is. Another example is the quotation from Brewer (p. 206) to inheritance in the trotting horse. It runs, that "in 1858, there were only six trotters in the 2.30 class, but in ten years, there were fully 150 in the 2.30 class. . . . Now we began to have distinctly trotting blood, and heredity began to tell." The student may ask for knowledge of the ancestry of the 150. Did the ancestors acquire or possess the characteristics which the 150 exhibited, and which are claimed to have been transmitted to the 150? The quotation gives no answer to this question. Without it, can the reader accept the statement that "heredity began to tell?" The author has failed to give the reference to the above, a failure perhaps as serious as the weakness of the argument quoted. The discussion on nature and nurture is not thoroughgoing, and it leads to no conclusion. Since the author derives no principle of education from the discussion, and since the teacher's business is to influence the child through proper environment,—the only way possible,—this chapter of 50 pages should give place to a discussion of something else, say, the social aspects of education, or obedience in relation to education, topics which are missing in this volume.

The book, nevertheless, is one of the best. Teachers and students are pleased to have it at their command; for it contains a wealth of data, well incorporated for the most part, and it gives a present day setting to many of the best ideas known in educational science, due credit being given former educators for the facts they have left us.

E. O. FINKENBINDER

Report of The Vice Commission of Minneapolis to His Honor James C. Haynes, Mayor. 1911. 134 p.

Among the subjects included in this investigation were the size and character of the problem of social vice in Minneapolis since closing houses in the sixth ward; the history of efforts to handle the problem; methods and policies tried in other cities; and fourthly, a group of related questions, such as supply, prevention, the theatre, penny arcades, moving pictures, sex

education, etc. The commission discusses the question of legalization of prostitution; its toleration; medical inspection; methods in other cities; enforcement of law; and the conditions generally and locally favorable thereto and recommendations. The latter are, law enforcement; increased police vigilance; co-operation of citizens; regulations of down-town hotels and lodging houses; development of increased interest in public health and safety; prevention by education; recreation; economic conditions; travellers' aids; rescue and reform; and a permanent commission.

The individual in the making. A subjective view of child development, with suggestions for parents and teachers. By E. A. KIRKPATRICK. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co. 1911. 339 p.

In the first part, dealing with the principles of subjective development, the writer discusses personality and interest. In the second part, devoted to stages of development, after a general description he treats the presocial, the imitating and socializing stage, then the periods of individualization, of competitive, socialization and regulation, the pubertal and early adolescent period. The third part is devoted to the relation of stages of development to education, and treats of the function of education, of the aims, material and methods at different periods. The author has made abundant and profitable use of the very copious literature of child study, although he here deals essentially with its applications to the actual work of education. It is a book of even greater importance than those which the author has previously published.

The social composition of the teaching population, by LOTUS DELTA COFFMAN. Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 41. N. Y. Teachers College, 1911. 87 p.

From this study the writer concludes that the typical American male public school teacher, if described in terms of medians, is 29 years of age, began teaching a little under 20, with 3 or 4 years of training beyond the elementary school. In the 9 years between the time he began and the present he has had 7 years of experience and his salary now is $489 a year. Both parents were living when he began, with an annual farm income of $700, from which they had to support 3 or 4 children. The first 2 years were in a rural school at $390 per year. His salary increased until 26, after which age and experience had little effect upon it. The typical American female teacher is 24, having begun in the early part of her 19th year with 4 years training beyond the elementary school. She receives $485. Her parents had an annual income of $800, supporting 3 or 4 children, so there was pressure to earn her own way. She, too, began in the country, but went to town; but if in the city had to have another year of training. These are the teachers who are training the youth of the land.

The author's data were from questionnaires to teachers in 22 states, 75.6 % of whom were women. 5,500 answers were secured.

Progress through the grades of city schools; a study of acceleration and arrest, by CHARLES HENRY KEYES. Teachers College, Columbia University. Contributions to Education No. 42. N. Y., Teachers College, 1911. 79 p.

This is a study of the quantity, place and causes of acceleration and arrest in the passage through the grades, made under Professor E. L. Thorndike's guidance in one supervision district of five thousand pupils in nine grades, of a cosmopolitan population, with one teacher on the average for forty-two pupils. He finds potential accelerates in from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ of all pupils above the first grade. The middle grades give the superior pupil the best chance. There are more boy than girl accelerates. The years of 8, 9 and 10 and the 3d, 4th and 5th grades have more than their share.

It runs in families. They attend most regularly. Arrest most commonly follows too early or late entrance. Pupils who do not leave before 15 or more have usually been repeaters. Irregular attendance, change of school, poor eyes, etc., help. 28% were weak in all subjects; 16 passed in nothing but spelling. Repeating a grade does not improve the scholarship. Arrest and accelerates must be accepted as permanent special classes. The various plans of remedy are defective because they accept a uniform curriculum and that slow and backward children are psychological and biological products. Work must be equal to power. The curriculum must be differentiated. It is not a trouble of method only. The worst is the fast boy who is made to go slowly. Thus "we need the consulting physiological psychologist. How shall we get him?" This is a most obvious and inevitable conclusion. He exists but the real question is how to get boards to employ and provide him with facilities for his work. Psychological training has gone much farther than the author of this paper seems to think in providing just such men although the training in the most favored universities is not yet quite adequate.

A special study of the incidence of retardation, by LOUIS B. BLAN. Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 40. N. Y., Teachers College, 1911. 111 p.

The author attempts to measure the relative frequence of non promotion in the grades of the public school by studying only the local beginners who have persisted in the present grades, in order to find the grade or grades where retardation was most common. The general result of this study seems to show that "the burden of proof rests on those who fancy that a pupil is more likely to suffer retardation in early than in late grades." The study is made with great care but the definiteness of its conclusion is somewhat disappointing.

The Hindu-Arabic numerals, by DAVID EUGENE SMITH and LOUIS CHARLES KARPINSKI. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1911. 160 p.

The general acceptance of Arabic numerals in commercial transactions is a matter of only the last four centuries and they are still unknown to a large part of the human race. The scheme struggled for nearly a thousand years after its system of place value was perfected before it replaced such crude notations as that of the Roman conquerors. This subject interests, therefore, not only the culture historian but the teacher and the business man. The story has often been told in part but here it is brought together in small compass and in a very interesting way.

L'arte d'être un homme. Traité de "self-education" a l'usage des jeunes gens, à partir de 16 ans, par l'ABBÉ H. MOCQUILON. Paris, Blonde et Cie, 1911. 468 p.

The author first describes the new life of youth, "fonctionnairism" commerce and industry, colonial relations, the industrial, military, artistic careers, agriculture, and the church. In the second part the writer treats of the general principles of practical life, country, family, marriage, and religion.

Fröhlicher Unterricht. Eine Auferstehung alter Grundsätze im Elementarschulwesen, von MAGDA BÖTNNER und EMMA VÖHL. Leipzig, Friedrich Brandstetter, 1910. 96 p. and 16 tables.

This is a vital work pointing out the present defects of elementary education and what the reforms should be. It sets forth mainly the rather well known Schrader ideas and tries to justify the modifications of Froebel that are involved. There are 16 full page tables of how the children do this work.

Spinoza as an educator, by WILLIAM LOUIS RABENORT. Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 38. N. Y., Teachers College, 1911. 87 p.

After three and a half centuries, Spinoza is more of a power than ever and it is well to seek out the educational implications in his philosophy. Although primarily a contribution to education, the author gives an outline of his views so that it is after all very largely philosophical, especially the chapters on the elements of human nature, the supremacy of the human intellect, and the complication of personality.

Enzyklopädisches Handbuch des Kinderschutzes und der Jugendfürsorge; herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung hervorragender Fachleute. TH. HELLER, FR. SCHILLER, M. TAUBE. Leipzig, Wilhelm Engelmann, 1911. Bd. 1, 371 S; Bd. 2, 416 S.

It is impossible to do justice to this very important and timely encyclopedia. The work is essentially German, not only in both the topics treated but in the literary references. It is very unfortunate that Anglo-Saxon work is so ignored.

Books and how to make the most of them, by JAMES HOSMER PENNIMAN. Syracuse, N. Y., C. W. Bardeen, n. d. 99 p.

How to use books, cultivating the memory, what to read and the abuse of books, art of reading, classification of books, poetry, biography, history, fiction, libraries and the care of books.

Universal peace—war is mesmerism. By ARTHUR EDWARD STILWELL. New York, Bankers Publishing Co., 1911. 179 p. Second edition.

The author wants nations to adopt an individual standpoint, thinks no one can grant a license to kill, discusses the relations of bankers to war, the relations of icons to mutiny, "interest payments on corpses and ghosts," what stands in the way, the army of peace, the promised day, injustice, Japan, who is on the firing line, the Monroe Doctrine, nations with colic, Diaz, etc.

La Puériculture sociale, by HENRI BOUQUET. Paris, Bloud et Cie, 1911. 322 p. (Études de Morale et de Sociologie.)

The first division treats of the crèche, the second of the pouponnieres, their rôle, personnel, budget, etc. The third part is on the consultation of nurses and the various milk establishments.

Pinocchio in Africa, translated from Cherubini by A. Patri. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1911. 152 p. (Gulliver's Travels Hero Stories.)

Pinocchio is a wooden marionette trying to become a real boy. His adventures, including his transformation into a donkey, give the author an opportunity to teach many wholesome moral lessons. He has become a great favorite with Italian children and his various adventures are chronicled in many ways.

Barbarian and noble, mediæval builders of the modern world, by MARION FLORENCE LANSING. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1911. 183 p.

This little book contains the story of Drusus, the coming of the Welsh people, Attila the scourge of God, The odoric, Goth against Goth, Clovis, Saracens, Charlemagne, the school and the palace, the Vikings, Danes, Rollo, St. Winfred, and Richard the Conquerer.

Our country and its people; an introductory geographic reader for the fourth school year. By WILL S. MONROE and ANNA BUCKBEE. N. Y., Harper & Bros., 1911. 130 p.

The authors in the successive chapters tell us how to teach the New England uplands, the Allegheny plateau, the coastal plains, the central

lowlands, the great lakes, western plains, Rocky Mountain highlands, California valley. These topics are worked out with a great deal of care and make it an important contribution to the pedagogy of geography.

The teaching of geometry, by DAVID EUGENE SMITH. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1911. 339 p.

Elementary geometry has not only a well defined place but a pretty settled mode of treatment in this country. On the other hand there are now those who would change its place and matter radically. The writer believes that a large portion of the teaching body is now disposed to progress and it is these he chiefly addresses. He would vitalize geometry in every legitimate way. This he does by introducing a good deal of concrete material to show its various applications.

Kinderpsychologie und experimentelle Pädagogik, von EDUARD CLAPARÈDE. Nach der IV. französischen Auflage übersetzt von Frank Hoffmann. Leipzig, Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1911. 347 p.

Annual report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, showing operations, expenditures and conditions of the institution for the year ending June 30, 1909. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1910. 751 p.

Untersuchungen über Geschlechts-Alters-und Begabungs- Unterschiede bei Schülern, von JONAS COHN und JULIUS DIEFFENBACHER. Leipzig, Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1911. 213 p. 3 Tafelin.

Beihefte zur Zeits, f. angewandte Psychologie und psychologische Sammelforschung, hrsg. von Wilhelm Stern und Otto Lipmann.

The continents and their people (North America). A supplemental geography by JAMES FRANKLIN CHAMBERLAIN and ARTHUR HENRY CHAMBERLAIN. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1911. 299 p.

Charles Fourier, par ALBERT LAFONTAINE. Paris, Bloud & Cie, 1911. 61 p. (Philosophes et Penseurs.)

Diary of Cotton Mather 1681-1708. Boston, Published by the Society, 1911. 640 p. Mass. Historical Society Collections, 7th Series, Vol. 6.

Woman and the republic: a survey of the woman-suffrage movement and a discussion of the claims and arguments of its foremost advocates. By HELEN KENDRICK JOHNSON. A new and enlarged edition with an index. Published by The National League for the Civic Education of Women, New York, 1909. 359 p.

American Red Cross abridged text-book on first aid. General edition. Manual of instruction by MAJOR CHARLES LYNCH. Prepared and endorsed by the American Red Cross. With 55 illustrations. Philadelphia, P. Blakiston's Sons & Co., 1910. 183 p.

Boy Scouts of America. The official handbook for boys. Approved copy. Published by the Boy Scouts of America, New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1911. 320 p.

The Journal of Experimental Pedagogy and Training College Record, Edited by J. A. Green. Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1911. London, Longmans, Green and Co. 92 p.

The unfolding of personality as the chief aim of education, by THISTLETON MARK. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, n. d. 224 p.

Report of the progress and condition of the U. S. National Museum for the year ending June 30, 1910. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911. 146 p.